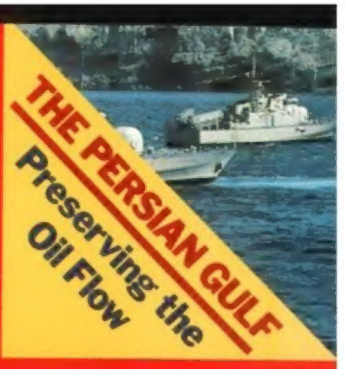
SEPTEMBER 22, 1980 $1.25

TIME

The Poisoning of America



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FTC Report DEC. '79.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

HOW TO HELP PROTECT YOUR CHILD'S LIFE

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This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

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People building transportation to serve people

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- Trinidad

Guatemala
Mexico
- Acapulco
- Cancún
- Cozumel
- Mérida
- Mexico City

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- Easton, Pa.

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- Texas

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Minneapolis,
- St. Paul, Minn.

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New Orleans, La.
New York, N.Y.
- Newark, N.J.

Norfolk, Va.
Omaha, Neb.
Orlando, Fla.
- (Walt Disney World)

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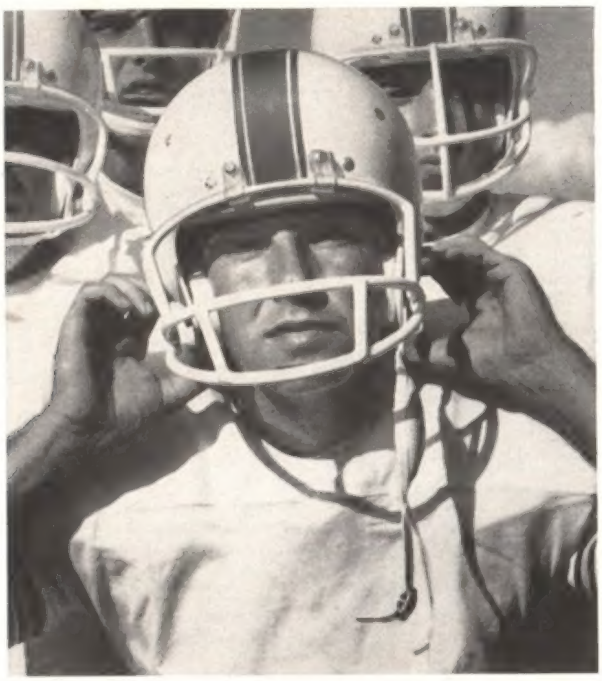
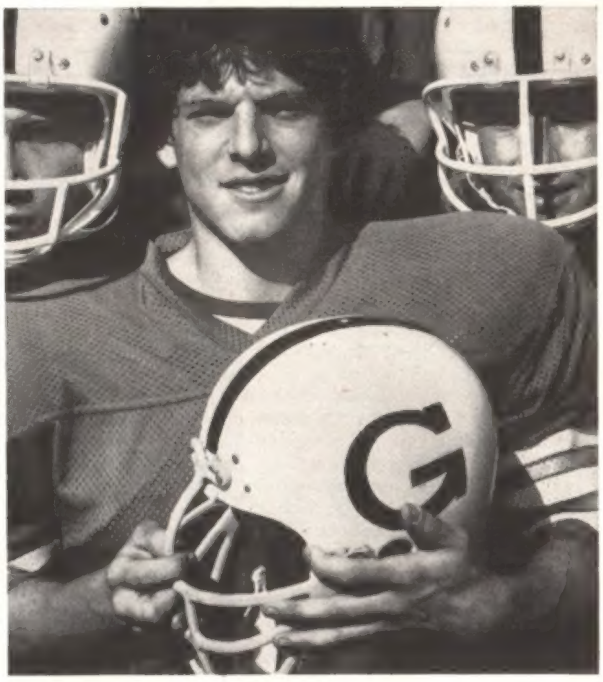
†Travel to and from Canada not included.

EASTERN
WE HAVE TO EARN OUR WINGS EVERY DAY.™

*Travel is in coach section and fares vary depending on taxes for routes flown. Seats are limited, and are not available over certain holiday periods. There are advance purchase, minimum and maximum stay, and stopover requirements. Itinerary may not be changed after initial departure. Fares quoted good on travel commencing between 9/2/80 and 12/14/80. All fares subject to change.





One of these helmets came off the field and off the market when the rules of the game changed.

Not the football rules, but the rules of the legal system under which manufacturers can be sued for damages. In recent years, courts have been inclined to hold a product manufacturer or distributor liable for injuries even when the company had met safety standards or when the injured person was negligent in using the product.

As a result, judgments, settlements and legal costs in liability cases have increased dramatically. Businesses are faced with uncertainty in trying to gauge the extent of their exposure to lawsuit. When these factors outweigh the benefits of making a product, that product will leave the marketplace.

That's what happened to the manufacturer of the helmet on the right. He stopped production of helmets until, as he says, the legal climate changes in the United States. It has happened also to some makers of vaccines, plastic products and machines. Right now, the chemical and pharmaceutical industries are deeply concerned about the potential financial impact of recent court decisions.

As a major group of property and casualty insurance companies, we, too, are concerned about this problem. Our companies provide insurance designed to protect business from financial loss resulting from a lawsuit. This protection normally encourages business to remain in the marketplace. It enables manufacturers to develop new products, to provide more jobs and generally to contribute to our economy.

But the trend in legal judgments threatens all that stability. As lawsuit settlements and awards become higher, insurance companies tend to be more cautious in writing insurance coverage. And they must charge more for it. That in turn causes manufacturers and sellers to raise their prices to cover the increased cost of insurance protection. Which means that consumers pay more for what they buy.

It's frustrating, but not hopeless. Steps can be taken to prevent injuries and to control the rise of liability costs. And that would benefit everyone.

Here's what we're doing:

- Helping to develop standards for safer products.
- Advising manufacturers on safety procedures and loss prevention programs.
- Supporting legislation to reduce the enormous legal costs of administering the product liability system.
- Supporting legislation to make the standards of legal liability more definite, more predictable and more equitable.

Here's what you can do:

- Seek quality products. Check to see that they meet safety standards where appropriate.
- Use all products as they are meant to be used. Read and follow warning labels and instructions for product usage.
- Get involved! Become aware of proposals to improve fairness in the legal liability system.

Affordable insurance is our business...and yours.

This message is presented by the **American Insurance Association,** 85 John Street, New York, New York 10038.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1980 Vol. 116 No. 12 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

For the TIME correspondents who visited dozens of toxic dumps and waste sites across the country to get material for this week's cover, the story entailed some eerie hazards. "If you are reporting a riot and get hit with a bottle," says New York Bureau Chief Peter Stoler, a veteran of the science and environment beat, "you either come home well or you don't. But with hazardous waste, you become acutely aware of every sneeze, every rash. You wonder about being well 20 years from now." Chatting with fire fighters near a blazing Elizabeth, N.J., dump site at 3 a.m., Stoler glanced down to see his nylon sneakers "being eaten by chemicals in the soil. They were literally dissolving off my feet."

THOMAS NASH

Nash doffs respirator despite toxic chemicals

Most often, though, TIME reporters and photographers were better, though bulkily, equipped. They sweated inside disposable vinyl body suits and bootees and hard hats. Wearing a respirator was a new experience for Chicago-based Correspondent Madeleine Nash, who went to dump sites in six states. Says she: "Breathing through those things is hard labor. And even with one, sharp fumes cut through to create a slight burning in your throat." Mandatory rubber gloves made reporters' notes look more like toddlers' scrawls.

Awkwardly confined in the hot body suits and encumbered with heavy cameras, photographers found their job doubly difficult, especially when they were trying to compose a picture while wearing goggles. Says Photographer Bill Pierce, who surveyed toxic dumps in New Jersey, as well as farms and woodlands that hide chemical waste sites: "Hazardous waste does not always look ugly. Quite often these dumps are neat rows of beautifully colored drums shining against a gorgeous, air-pollution sunset. We found too that some of the most photogenic slime was harmless. We had to get precise shots of the right slime."

Neither Senior Writer Ed Magnuson, author of this cover, nor Reporter-Researcher Nancy Williamson, who checked it, is a stranger to environmental nightmares. Williamson's Long Island community is threatened with ground-water pollution from chemicals. And Magnuson wrote TIME's cover story on the near nuclear disaster at Three Mile Island 18 months ago.

John a. Meyer

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People building transportation to serve people

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DISCOVER
The newsmagazine of science.

Letters

Polish Strikers

To the Editors:

Marxists have preached and "prayed" for more than a hundred years that the collapse of capitalist countries in general, and the near capitalist U.S. in particular, would come about by a revolt of the "exploited" working class. Now look at Poland [Sept. 1]. Whose workers in what type of country are revolting?

Bart Kosko
Los Angeles

Isn't it amazing that the butts of all those stupid Polish jokes could make the whole world hold its breath? Some would have said that the Poles possessed suicidal courage and had no hope of succeeding. But they have succeeded by proving to men and women everywhere that no force on earth or in hell can take away a man's will.

Mary Gallagher Reimold
Greenville, Pa.

Prolonged wage and price controls do not work, even in a socialist-controlled economy. If the relief valve on the pressure cooker is jammed shut by government policy, without regard for economic reality, any fleeting benefits are bought at the price of an eventual explosion.

M. Robert Paglee
Moorestown, N.J.

Editor, Edit Thyself

According to the article "The Decline of Editing" [Sept. 1], "The fight against the misuse of 'hopefully' (for 'I hope') is just about lost." In your review of the Peking opera [Aug. 25], the wife of Mao Tse-tung, Jiang Qing, is mentioned in this way: "Thankfully, Jiang herself has now fallen out of favor." Does this mean that Jiang is thankful that she fell out of favor, or does it mean that the fight against the misuse of "thankfully" is just about lost?

Edwin Newman
New York City

Putting aside my desire to mumble something about the pot calling the kettle black—TIME having scrambled more syntax than Professor Backwards—I appreciate the cry for better editing of books.

But I protest the gratuitous poke at Betty Prashker of Doubleday, an editor of taste, skill and compassion. Editors, the best editors, do more than undangle participles and unsplit infinitives.

Prashker is there when I need her, not there when I don't. She perceives the indescribable pain of researching and writing books, and, in my case, has been of immeasurable help in producing two bestsellers. I need her and love her.

Thomas Thompson
Los Angeles

A fine could be instituted for using faulty grammar and orthography. A law could be written along the lines of pornography legislation. Corrupting people's ability to communicate certainly is at least as harmful as corrupting their morals.

K. Eckhard Kuhn-Osius
New York City

Naturally I have no way of telling who comprised the "sampling of writers, editors and agents" that decided that my novel *Sophie's Choice* "needed more editing." But I do know that in the hands of Robert Loomis, my editor at Random House, the book received the most intelligent and capable scrutiny possible, and I would not want to change a word of it.

William Styron
Vineyard Haven, Mass.

Faith May Be a Remedy

Your article "Suicide Belt" [Sept. 1] reveals several theories for climbing adolescent suicide rates in affluent suburbs; yet not once is there an implication that a faith in God, together with the familial closeness such a faith can generate, may be a remedy for this senseless waste.

Richard C. Ingraham
Bemus Point, N.Y.

Who the Delegates Were

With regard to Hugh Sidey's comments [Sept. 1], the Democratic Convention had a disproportionate percentage of delegates with government jobs because it was truly representative. Private industry is only now opening up decent jobs for women, blacks and other minorities.

Patricia O'Brien
Royal Oak, Mich.

What proportion of Republican Convention delegates do not have to work for a living at all? I would love to see a comparison of the two parties as to the proportion of each delegate's income on which he or she pays income tax.

Norma J. Hart
New York City

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Tomorrow's Gashouse Gang.

They're future Northern Illinois Gas customers like the Ross Avenue kids of Cary who won't have to worry about gas energy for their homes.

Our kind of gas is abundant. Northern Illinois Gas is well aware of the oil shortage. Like everyone else, we're concerned about America's dependence on foreign sources for the kind of energy that powers our cars and helps turn the wheels of industry.

But it's home grown natural gas that heats our homes, warms our water, cooks our food and dries our clothes. And when it comes to this domestic natural gas, America is fortunate to have plenty. And NI-Gas stores a substantial amount of it right here in Illinois.

And there's more coming. We haven't even begun to tap the rich natural gas deposits trapped in the tight rock formations of the western mountain ranges and in the geo-pressurized zones along the Gulf of Mexico.

These regions could supply enough gas to service future Gashouse Gang members for hundreds of years.

Northern is looking ahead. We're not only searching the earth for energy. We're searching our minds, too, for new ways to make gas from our more abundant natural resources like coal and giant ocean kelp.

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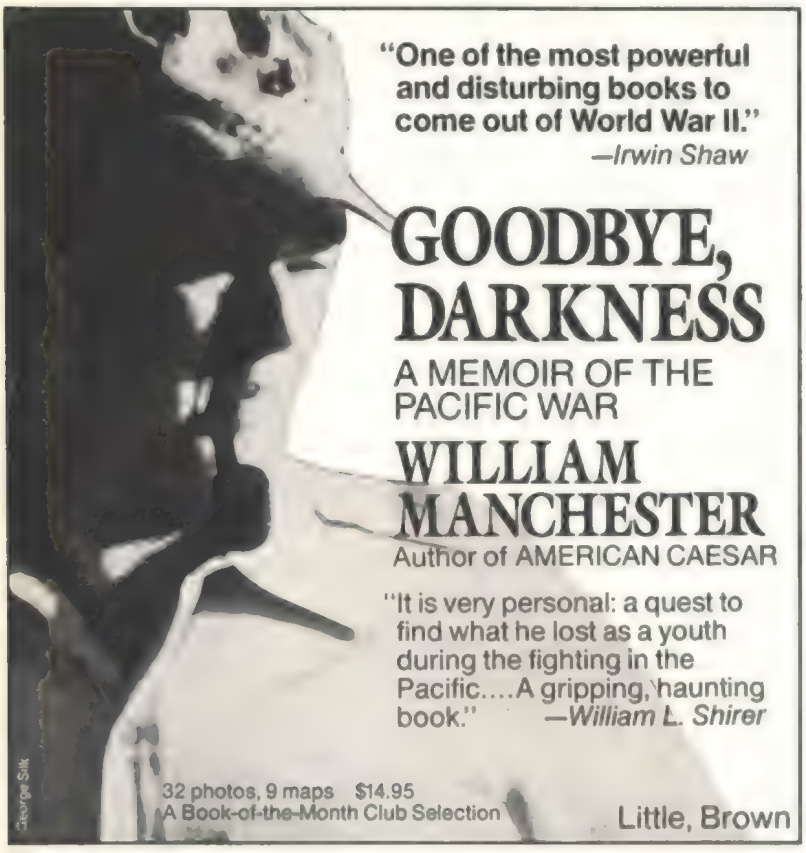

Letters

Should Church Be a Circus?

It really is pathetic when organized religion turns the worship service into a circus and pastors into clowns [Sept. 1]. As for the congregations that tolerate, encourage and finance this ministry, maybe Barnum was right—there is a sucker born every minute

Eleanor Gerloff
Woodstock, Ill.

Thank you for the article "Becoming Fools for Christ." It affirms my belief that you do not have to be long-faced and sad to be a Christian. It also supports my belief that all ministers need a sense of humor. I am happy to be a clown for the sake of winning others to Christ, who became a "fool" for us.

(The Rev.) John Eliason
Burlington, N.C.

Savings, Not Investments

In your article on U.S. Savings Bonds [Aug. 25] you state that in 1979 only $144 million in these bonds were sold and in 1945 only $303 million were sold. We are sorry if there was a misunderstanding about the information we provided you, but the correct figures are $6.9 billion sold in 1979 and $12.9 billion in 1945.

The article also claims that U.S. Savings Bonds were previously advertised as "good investments." For many years Treasury-authorized advertising has in fact consciously refrained from calling them investments and, instead, has urged people to save through these bonds. They are, and always have been, U.S. Savings Bonds, not U.S. Investment Bonds.

Jesse Adams, Deputy National Director
U.S. Savings Bonds Division
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D.C.

Nongreedy Capitalist

Because I've been at my job as venture banker with John Muir & Co. only a month, I was surprised to find myself already called a "greedy capitalist" in your Letters column [Sept. 1]. I know that many people have good reason to equate "greedy" with "capitalist," but I'm going to do my best to create a "me-and-you nongreedy cooperative capitalism."

Oh, by the way, both TIME and the letter writer repeated the '70s media fiction that I coined the phrase "Don't trust anyone over 30." Not so. The fact is that Jack Weinberg first said it in 1964 on the Sproul Hall steps at Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement. I was there. I feel embarrassed 16 years later receiving credit for something I didn't say

Jerry Rubin
New York City

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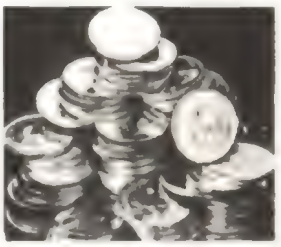

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In Delaware: Traffic Takes Its Toll

"Hi, how are ya? Sixty cents out of a ten. Here's your change."

From his 3-ft. by 6-ft., glass-walled, air-conditioned booth on the Washington–New York highway, Toll Collector William Piergalline has a smashing view of the Delaware Memorial Bridge, whose twin, gray-green spans arc gracefully over the Delaware River. But Piergalline, 54, a squat, salty, seven-year veteran with the Delaware River and Bay Authority, rarely notices his surroundings. Like the other toll collectors who, along with six automatic coin receptacles, handle the 16 lanes of the bridge's two Delaware-side toll plazas, he is much too busy raking in the cash. Sixty cents a car, $1.50 a bus, $2.50 for a big five-axle tractor trailer. So many tolls in swift, five-second transactions that on a peak day the bridge can bring in $85,000.

"The best way to Washington? Take the left lane and I-95 south."

Piergalline belongs to a large fraternity. The U.S. has 152 such toll bridges, tunnels or highways. They account for nearly 2.2 billion transactions a year. Particularly in Eastern states, motorists have grown accustomed to, if not content with, toll collectors. It is natural to assume that tolltakers are bored by what has to be the world's most monotonous job. Not so. Not on the Delaware Bridge anyway, if the long waiting list for jobs is any barometer. Shifts are regular: the same eight hours daily with two 15-minute breaks and a half-hour lunch five days a week. Salaries increase to $8.05 an hour within three years. All you have to do is count the axles on trucks slowing for the booth, make an appropriate "axle hit" on a twelve-key register, gather in the toll, make change and tally it up at shift's end.

The routine can get tedious, true, but each day brings a full-dress human comedy rolling into the toll plazas. Besides, whatever hassles the traffic may bring are likely to last, at most, no more than seconds. "I used to be an accountant," says Piergalline contentedly, "and in an office I had to take the crap eight hours a day."

"Sure I can change a 20. We've got plenty of money."

Ten percent of those crossing Delaware Memorial are commuters. Some are bound for the plants that dot both sides of the river. Some are Jersey shoppers bound for Delaware, where there is no sales tax. Some faces, like those of the truckers who regularly haul furniture up the coast from the Carolinas or run Eastern Shore chickens to New York, tend to become familiar to the toll collectors. Supervisor Ronald Cantino, 34, kept seeing a Jersey girl who commuted to school near Wilmington. First he asked for her phone number, then for a date. Finally he married her. Now they have children.

The long-distance travelers, the business people, tourists, college students ask the strangest questions. Is this the Delaware Water Gap? (No, that scenic stretch where the river slices through Kittatinny Mountain is more than 100 miles upstream.) Am I in Washington, D.C.? What state is Delaware the capital of?

"Delaware Park race track? Ninety-Five south and the Stanton exit. And lots of luck."

On Memorial Bridge, William Piergalline stretches for 60¢ fee

Since 1978, when Atlantic City's casinos opened, Piergalline has noticed a pattern emerging. Two new kinds of drivers show up. One, smiling happily, presents a $50 or $100 bill to be changed. The other, downcast, is broke, wiped out at the tables. Once the bridge allowed such destitutes to sign a pledge that they would pay later by mail. But so few honored their promises that the custom was halted. Now, unless they have cash—no checks, no credit cards—they are turned back.

"Virginia Beach? I'd recommend 13 and 301, ma'am. Recommend? I'm beginning to sound like a damned chef."

Twenty times a month, on the average, acrophobiacs show up. Most are given a special chauffeur and driven over the towering spans. A brave few request that a police car follow them so they'll feel safe, and then drive themselves, trying to beat their fear of heights. Suicides turn up too, but no one recognizes them until they stop at the top of the bridge's parabola, 190 ft. above the Delaware, and leap. Since 1951, when the initial span opened, 61 people have jumped, mostly young, mostly white, mostly male, mostly from surrounding communities. Only one survived. The sweltering summer of 1980 has been one of the worst periods ever: from June 22 to July 17, there were four jumpers, all white—a 38-year-old woman and three men, ranging from 26 to 42.

There is also low comedy. Motorists topless, bottomless or both; passengers fornicating in the back seat while their driver fishes for change up front. The automatic cointakers are routinely stuffed with garbage, chicken bones, chewing gum, soft drinks, coffee. In holiday seasons, the all-male toll force is frequently propositioned by lone and lonely women drivers. There are other hazards. An occasional dog goes after the hand that is collecting the toll. Because tolltakers have to shout above the din of traffic for eight hours, they tend to shout when they reach home, to the dismay of their families. Piergalline tries not to shout. He also says "Hello" and "Thank you" to everyone who comes through. "Would you believe it, not four in ten will answer back. That's sad." But he keeps flirting with girls, joking with small children, jollying jaundiced drivers along, all the while methodically stacking their dollar bills and making little quarter-nickel-dime pyramids for change.

A woman towing a trailer snarls at the extra $1 charge. Another woman apologizes for handing him exact change instead of using an automatic lane. "That's O.K.," chirps Piergalline, "the machine wouldn't have answered you anyway." To a teen-age blond in a cowboy hat driving a van: "I'll say one thing. You're prettier than Roy Rogers." The blond answers with a snaggle-toothed giggle. A young man in a yellow Beetle hands him a $2 bill. "I hate twos and I hate Susan B. Anthonys," mutters Piergalline. Ten cars later, he palms the two off on a helmeted girl astride a throbbing Kawasaki.

And so they pass, each assessed according to its own lights, or rather its own axles. Even a bright red 1923 Stephens Salient Six touring car, chugging home from an antique rally, must pay 60¢. Only once will the toll be waived for a motorist crossing the Delaware Memorial Bridge. By local custom, his hearse goes for free.

—By Spencer Davidson

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A face-off between Reagan and Anderson for the first encounter in Baltimore, while Carter plays a risky waiting game and stays aloof

TIME/SEPTEMBER 22, 1980

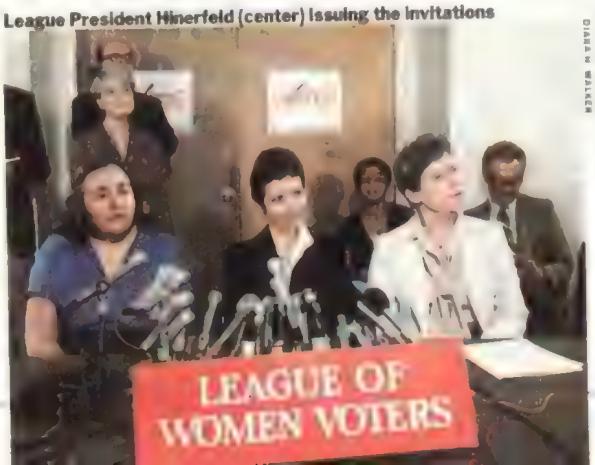
Two for the Show

The President insists that three's a crowd in the first debate

When the danger became clear, when they saw there was no way between Scylla and Charybdis, the President and his men battened down for the whirlpool of criticism they knew was coming. With cold calculation, they had refused the League of Women Voters' invitation to debate both Ronald Reagan and John Anderson in Baltimore on the evening of Sept. 21. The alternative, they felt, was a greater risk—enhancing Anderson's stature as a contender by appearing with him in the key first debate. Maybe so, but there was also the risk that this time it was Carter who had shot himself in the foot.

Trying to explain how the decision was made, Presidential Pollster Pat Caddell said, "There are no hard data. We just assume Anderson's presence helps him, makes him more legitimate, establishes him." Such added strength, they felt, would hurt Carter far more than Reagan since Anderson has been getting most of his support in the polls from disgruntled Democrats and thus could give key states—and the election—to Reagan.

League President Hinerfeld (center) issuing the invitations



"He just doesn't deserve it," Carter told aides after the league invited Anderson to its forum. "It's a farce." Campaigning in New Jersey, the President squashed some sour grapes as he tried, with notable lameness, to defend his position. Said he: "I think Anderson is primarily a creation of the press. He's never won a primary, even in his home state. He ran as a Republican, and he's still a Republican. He hasn't had a convention. He doesn't have a party. He and his wife picked his vice presidential nominee." Later Carter told reporters that his professed willingness to debate all challengers is "unprecedented," but insisted, as he has since June, on first going one-on-one with Reagan. "This is what we want," he said.

That, however, is not what the league decided to offer. Last week, its five-woman debate committee announced that Anderson had met the criteria of

becoming a "significant" candidate—attaining a 15% rating in the polls.* Said League President Ruth Hinerfeld: "Our task was relatively easy. Since the polling data were clear and unambiguous, our decision was unanimous."

For Anderson the triumph was more than just the wondrous possibility of prime time with Reagan and Carter. Simply being invited boosted his status as a major candidate, and the continuing controversy helped keep him in the news. Conferring credibility is television's greatest power: *"Televiso, ergo sum*—I am televised, therefore I am," as Columnist Russell Baker puts it. CBS has already committed itself to covering the Anderson-Reagan duel live; NBC and ABC were still making up their minds at week's end.

The league's decision reached Anderson as he was sipping coffee before holding a press conference in Hackensack, N.J. Two aides suddenly appeared with fists raised. "We won!" they shouted. "We're in!" Anderson strode into the press conference with the good news. "As you can tell by the smile on my face," he said, "I am certainly pleased to accept."

Reagan was triply delighted by the league's decision: it took the spotlight off his recent series of gaffes, it put Carter in a bind, and it gave a boost to Anderson. Like Carter's, Reagan's aides are convinced Anderson hurts the President more than their man. When New York State's Liberal Party last week endorsed Anderson and thus put him on the ballot where he could coax more votes from Carter, one Reagan aide was so pleased that he sent Anderson Strategist David Garth a bottle of champagne to celebrate.

Both Anderson and Reagan accused the President of avoiding the debate for selfish motives. Robert Strauss, Carter's veteran campaign manager, who was more nervous than the other aides about the decision to decline, admitted that self-interest was the main concern. Said he: "We have our selfish reasons. Reagan has his selfish interests. We all have our selfish interests. Let's don't kid ourselves."

With the cards thus laid on the table, representatives of the three sides met with the league later in the week to try again to reach a compromise. All the formulas failed. After more than two hours, Hinerfeld came out to announce that no agreement had been reached; Carter would probably be represented in Baltimore by an empty chair. Joked White House Press Secretary Jody Powell: "It'd be the only non-Republican item on the stage." Upon reflection, however, the President's men were upset by the prospect of the symbol of Carter's absence helplessly drawing the fire of the two challengers. "I can't believe they'd really do it," said one nervously.

To prepare for Sunday's debate in Baltimore, both Reagan and Anderson plan to take off the last three days of the week. Reagan's strategy is to go easy on Anderson (after all, he may be more friend than foe at the polls), to flog Carter's record and to seek to project an image of confidence and common sense. Adviser James Baker, who prepped Gerald Ford for the debates with Carter in 1976, is leading a team that is compiling 50 short papers on issues, which Reagan will study this weekend at his temporary Virginia home. Says one adviser: "A debate of this kind is based on style and a few facts. We know Reagan has the right style. He'll be prepared on the facts too."

Anderson is cutting this week's West Coast trip short to study briefing books containing his own programs, his past statements on issues, and his opponents' positions. Said he: "I see the debate as an opportunity not so much to talk about Carter's record or Reagan's, but to tell the public what I have to offer."

Anderson may also view tapes of three Republican primary forums to see what worked for him and what did not: he had been cool and persuasive in Iowa, contentious and unconvincing in Illinois. Anderson is now well aware that his style, developed in the House, may be too "hot," in McLuhanesque terms, for television. Says he: "There is a certain gladiatorial aspect to such an affair, but I shall not come clanking onto the stage in armor that evening. I would hope that I could come equipped with a certain amount of discretion, humor, wisdom, and avoid what some people say is a tendency on my part to preach and sermonize."

As the week went on, Carter's advisers, reviewing their daily telephone samplings, insisted that their stand was not hurting them as much as had been reported. Says Caddell: "It's the right position. We constantly review it, but every time we come up with the same answer." His counterpart, Reagan Pollster Richard Wirthlin, disagrees, saying that Carter "is wearing a black hat" and will end up taking "a great deal of heat."

A survey completed last week by Louis Harris revealed that 69% of those interviewed wanted a three-way debate. Says Harris: "Carter's refusal to debate makes him the issue rather than Reagan or Anderson. If there is an empty chair, it is going to put Carter in a highly vulnerable position." Former Reagan Strategist John Sears disagrees. Says he: "Carter's right not to want to give Anderson that kind of exposure."

Pollster Daniel Yankelovich thinks Carter is overly fearful of Anderson. Says he: "I really think they are exaggerating the notion that Reagan is the beneficiary of an Anderson gain. And to the extent that it may be so today, it may not be so tomorrow. There are many people leaning toward Reagan who would normally prefer Anderson because they are moderate Republicans."

As this year's primaries have shown, debates can be explosive issues in a campaign. For that reason, there have been only two general election debates in the television era. Richard Nixon agreed to face John Kennedy in 1960 because he felt certain he could show up the Senator's inexperience; the Vice President lost that bet. In 1976, trailing badly in the polls, Ford thought that a debate would reveal Carter's naiveté about the Government. The Georgian got at least a draw—and a draw for a challenger is a win, as Carter knows all too well.

Where negotiations on future debates will go from here is still uncertain. Reagan has not yet turned down the three invitations accepted by Carter from groups wanting to sponsor head-on encounters. Says Wirthlin: "We're not of a mind to preclude further debates." But Powell said last week: "There's a growing feeling around here that there may never be a one-on-one debate." The White House believes that Reagan, despite his claims to the contrary, does not want to duel the President. If there is no debate between Carter and Reagan this year, the voters will be deprived of the opportunity of sizing up the two men, head to head, as they project their personalities and discuss their programs. —*By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Christopher Ogden with Carter and Eileen Shields with Anderson*

*The last most recent surveys were those of Yankelovich for TIME (15% for Anderson), Roper (13%), Los Angeles *Times* (18%) and ABC News-Harris (17%).

Conservative Conservatism

Reagan's economic package is toned down to add up

George Bush once accused him of practicing "voodoo economics." John Anderson scoffed that he was working "with mirrors." Jimmy Carter derisively charged that his schemes would so deplete the Treasury that the Government could not afford to keep even "the night watchman at the Lincoln Memorial." Through it all, Ronald Reagan fed the doubts by refusing to spell out what kind of economic program he had in mind beyond his seemingly impossible promise to lower taxes, increase military spending and balance the budget. Last week, finally, he supplied some of the details of his proposals and produced a kind of five-year plan for capitalism that was far more coherent and defensible than the impression conveyed by his earlier statements.

The new Reagonomics, like the old, reflects the candidate's veneration of the free-enterprise system as the great creator of wealth and his hatred of Government intervention as the inveterate stifler of that system. But the new plan has been stripped of excess ideological baggage, and for the first time Reagan's advisers have attached numbers—debatable, but plausible—to some of its components. The plan's essential points, as outlined by Reagan and his advisers:

LOWER TAXES. The heart of the program is, as before, a 30% slash in personal income tax rates, 10% in each of the next three years—the so-called Kemp-Roth formula. Beginning in the fourth year, tax rates also would be "indexed," *i.e.*, tied to inflation rates so that only a rise in income greater than the rise in prices would push a taxpayer into a higher bracket. Business taxes would be reduced by speeding up the depreciation write-offs that companies could take for modernizing their plant and equipment. Cost to the Treasury: $22 billion in fiscal 1981, which begins Oct. 1; a stunning $192 billion a year by fiscal 1985. Faster growth prompted by the cuts would reduce the impact, but only to $153 billion annually five years from now.

LESS SPENDING. With revenues lowered, Reagan would cut federal expenditures at least 2% below currently expected levels in fiscal 1981 and more in later years until the total reduction reached 7% in fiscal 1985. "Actually, I believe we can do even better," said the candidate. His goal is to hold spending 3% below anticipated levels next fiscal year and 10% by 1985 (spending would still increase, but less rapidly than at present). Savings: a minimum of $13 billion next fiscal year, $64 billion to $92 billion in 1985. This would be accomplished, says Reagan, primarily by ending "waste, extravagance, abuse and outright fraud in federal agencies and programs." He gave no examples of how he would wield the knife, nor did he promise to ax any programs outright—not even social welfare projects he has inveighed against in the past. The hold-down would be achieved despite an increase of at least 5% a year, adjusted for inflation, in military spending that Reagan contends is needed to "restore our defenses."

A BALANCED BUDGET. Though his spending cuts would not even come close to matching his tax reductions dollar-for-dollar, Reagan's advisers insist that he can nonetheless make revenues equal expenditures, possibly as early as 1983. The rationale: the Senate Budget Committee, a reasonably neutral source, has predicted that if no change were made in tax laws, federal revenues would more than double in the next five years to a staggering $1 trillion, given even modest economic growth, generating more income to be taxed. Reagan, the advisers contend, could whack away at tax rates to make the increase much smaller, and the revenues pouring in would still be enough to pay for spending that would be rising much less swiftly under a Republican Administration. Says Reagan of balancing the budget: "We can do it. We must do it. And I intend that we will do it."

REDUCED REGULATION. Says Reagan: "Government regulation, like fire, makes a good servant but a bad master." In company with many nonpartisan economists, he believes that excessive regulation is strangling business investment and worker productivity. He appointed Murray Weidenbaum, head of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis and a member of TIME's Board of Economists, to head a task force that will recommend just which regulations to scrap or modify. Weidenbaum says that he will look especially closely at the Environmental Protection Agency's ever-expanding mass of stringent antipollution rules.

The end result, in Reagan's view: businessmen freed of heavyhanded regulation will invest more; workers, released from oppressive taxation, will labor harder and save more; the economy will grow, producing more jobs and less inflation.

Reagan's grand plan jettisoned some of his old favorites. No longer does he muse about returning the U.S. to the gold standard, an idea that startled economists because it would make the monetary system too inflexible. Reagan has dropped proposals to abolish gift and inheritance taxes, which would increase the drain of his tax cuts on the Treasury.

More important, Reagan has abandoned the far-out idea that deep tax cuts would come close to paying for themselves, even without spending reductions, by stimulating so much economic growth that the Government would collect about as much revenue with lower taxes as it would with the existing high rates. That notion was pressed by U.S.C. Professor Arthur Laffer, Economic Consultant Jude Wanniski and New York Congressman Jack Kemp, a trio that Wanniski proudly characterized as "the wild men" of the Reagan entourage. Under their influence, Reagan sometimes talked as if tax cuts were a kind of economic cure-all.

Laffer and Wanniski have now been shunted aside, and Kemp, while he still campaigns hard for Reagan, is no longer regarded as an influential issues adviser. The current program was shaped by study groups organized by Martin Anderson, a conservative economist who was an adviser on domestic affairs in the Nixon Administration. The panels included Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and a member of TIME's Board of Economists, George Shultz, former Secretary of the Treasury, and Charls Walker, a leading tax expert. The group is sometimes joined by Arthur Burns, conservative chairman of the Fed-

EVANS—SYGMA

Advisers who have the candidate's ear: Greenspan, Walker and Shultz

The "wild men" who touted tax cuts as a cure-all have been shunted aside.

eral Reserve Board from 1970 to 1978. The advisers acknowledge that the extra revenues generated by speedier economic growth will not offset the impact of the tax cuts, hence the sharp reductions in spending to avoid huge deficits

Actually, Reagan's new program bears some resemblance to Carter's: both talk of reducing regulation, and the first-year tax cut that each proposes is roughly the same in dollar amount. There is one key difference. Ironically, Carter boasts that compared with Reagan's, his plan is tilted more toward encouraging business investment and less toward giving consumers more money to spend. Quips Alfred Kahn, Carter's anti-inflation adviser: "I'd like to know the night and the hour when the Republicans and Democrats exchanged economic philosophies."

For all its new realism, however, Reagan's five-year plan is still risky and open to bitter Democratic assault. Carter began the attack last week, blasting "the Reagan-Kemp-Roth tax proposal" before a group of New Jersey editors as "absolutely ridiculous . . . highly inflationary."

The attack on Reagan's economics is likely to focus on two questions. First, the charge that tax cuts on the scale that Reagan is advocating will reduce federal revenues far more than he calculates. The Carter Administration's Office of Management and Budget earlier put the cost to the Treasury by fiscal 1985 at $285 billion, compared with Reagan's claim of $192 billion. So enormous a reduction, the Democratic argument goes, would either produce ruinously inflationary deficits or force spending cuts so outsized that the Government would be unable, in Carter's words, "even to continue the routine programs that are designed to help the American people to a better life."

In the nature of economic forecasting, an arcane art that relies on calculations of production and income projected years into the unknowable future, neither side can prove its case. But even some Republicans are worried that Reagan has committed himself too strongly to major tax cuts too far in advance. Former President Gerald Ford left a dinner in Reagan's Chicago hotel suite last week to tell reporters that it was unwise to decide now how much to cut taxes in 1982 and 1983 because "I don't think we can see down the road to what the situation will be in 36 months." Democratic orators seized on his remark. Vice President Walter Mondale sniffed that "even Ford said he could not support" Reagan's tax proposals.

The second question is whether Reagan will really be able to enforce the spending cuts that he now admits are necessary to balance his tax reductions. The early portents are not favorable. Many economists believe that federal spending can never be brought under control without a clampdown on the "entitlement" programs—Social Security, veterans' benefits, Medicaid—under which more Americans every year qualify for benefits that are guaranteed by law to expand. And Reagan last week pledged himself to maintain "necessary entitlements already granted to the American people," though he opposed adding any "new programs funded by deficits." Says Otto Eckstein, a Democratic member of the Board of Economists: "If you are not going to change the entitlement programs and if you want more military expenditures, there is no way on earth that you can achieve savings anywhere near the magnitude [that Reagan proposes] and if you can't achieve those savings, then of course you can't afford Kemp-Roth."

Greenspan, Reagan and Adviser Anderson refining program on campaign flight to Milwaukee

Still a visceral veneration of free enterprise, but shedding excess ideological baggage

Finally, if elected, Reagan will have to push his programs through a Congress that is bound to be highly skeptical—one in which Democrats will continue to control at least the House, unless Reagan wins by an unlikely landslide. Even some top Republicans have misgivings about Reagan's proposals. Says New York Representative Barber Conable, ranking Republican on the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee: "I regret that Reagan has hewn to the line on Kemp-Roth. I think that Congress would use Reagan's plan as a starting point, and do its own things, as it always does."

Thus Reagan's program is almost certain to be changed if he makes it to the White House. The prospect of altering the design does not dismay all of his advisers. Though, understandably, they will not come out and say so, even privately, some would not be unhappy to see Congress reduce the size of the tax cuts, thereby making Ronald Reagan's already scaled-down program even more modest still. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett with Reagan and William Blaylock/Washington*

Carter: One Year at a Time

In the White House view, Ronald Reagan's economic program is overly rigid, committing the nation to tax and spending cuts years in advance. That cannot be said of Jimmy Carter's policy, which is definite only for next year:

TAXES. Carter seems to be calling for the bigger cut—$27.6 billion, *vs.* $22 billion for Reagan. But when both plans are computed for fiscal year 1981, which begins Oct. 1, they are roughly the same.

SPENDING. The President plans an increase of $4.6 billion next fiscal year, raising the total to $638.4 billion. The new money would go to unemployment compensation, energy conservation, mass transit and job-training programs.

DEFENSE. Carter is now calling for a spending increase of 4.5% a year, adjusted for inflation, compared with Reagan's figure of 5%.

DEFICIT. Carter's proposals will increase the deficit by $5.7 billion, to $35.7 billion. The President insists that a balanced budget is still a prime goal, but gives no timetable for attaining it.

DEREGULATION. Like his Republican rival, Carter promises to make environmental and safety regulations less burdensome to business.

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Fun on the Sawdust Trail

Not long ago, Charls E. Walker, former Deputy Secretary of the Treasury and current nabob of conservative political influence, was elegantly dining near the White House when suddenly he leaned back, exhaled a cloud of smoke from his Montecruz cigar and exclaimed: "Damn, politics is fun again!"

That may seem a novel thought to pop up this campaign season in the midst of so much hand wringing over domestic economics and somber warnings about nuclear war. Yet there is a truth there.

Walker's point was not that life will be any easier, nor will there be so much laughter, but that the presidential contest is developing into a choice between distinctly different men and policies. "The issues will be ventilated," he claims. "It will be a good debate." He was looking beyond the current fuss over the TV debates, of course, and talking about the sort of struggle that is fun in the world of power. While a lot of Americans gaze with a certain despondency on the candidates, they continue to watch, mesmerized by the political drama.

Robert Strauss, the Carter-Mondale chairman, subscribes to the belief that politics is a kind of sport, however serious the consequences. "It is an exciting spectacle," he says. "There is a real difference between these men. I know which one I think is best, but I'm not God. The American people will be God in November, and I'm sure they will come down on the right side." To Strauss, that is the sort of drama that makes life meaningful. He moves instinctively, putting in long hours but finding that the excitement leaves him less tired than in other jobs he has held.

Reagan at a Lithuanian restaurant in Chicago

For the candidates and their groupies, the movement, the hoopla, the crowds, the heat and even the food have a singular appeal. Jimmy Carter's excursions have been like a physical tonic. Once he got on the road he looked better, talked better and seemed to have more energy. Since childhood, he has been an evangel of one kind or another, and now he is taking his sermons down the longest sawdust trail man has ever devised. He came back from one trip so fired up that he had to phone Strauss late at night and twit him about being on vacation "while I've been out working."

Talking about life around the White House, Rosalynn recalled the night she was doing political work while the President wrote a speech. Then they jogged on the White House South Lawn, jumped in the pool and swam together. The whole thing she found "just wonderful." The two of them are on one of the greatest adventures left on this planet.

Ronald Reagan is not given to philosophic rumination, but there is something of the same aura about his crusade. Old movies around the fireplace may be fun, but nothing like this. He is an actor who has found the biggest stage in the world, who rises every day and puts on the grease paint and the smile and waits for the roar of the crowd. Some medical authorities suspect that the continuing applause for Reagan is one reason his hair has not turned gray.

There may be protests about the nomadic existence of the candidates. But there is plainly something heady about swooping down through mountains or over prairies and hearing the blare of bands in tribute to the caravan. Anybody who has heard the Mormon Tabernacle Choir sing *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* for a rally has felt the stir. Reagan even seems to enjoy the campaign food. Unlike other candidates who only nibble, Reagan plows right in.

John Anderson, a preacher of sorts, confessed after 20 years in the House of Representatives that he had grown discouraged and bored. Now he has made America think a bit more and found an audience he never dreamed he would have. Despite being short of everything from money to time, he loves it.

At best the presidential campaign is a seminar on America and all its diverse parts and themes, and anyone interested in history, the land and the struggles within U.S. society has got to be captivated by the performance. And if a fellow happens to win, the prize is still worthwhile. "There ain't but one good job in this Government," Strauss told Carter one night. "And you got it."

Nuclear Test

The Administration loses

Not since the SALT II debate has the Administration lobbied so vigorously in Congress. Emissaries from Jimmy Carter regularly called on undecided Senators and Representatives. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie made an impassioned plea to his old friends on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. According to a Senate aide, he said in effect: "I know it's a tough one, but you guys should go along with me on it." Despite these efforts, both the Senate committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week embarrassed Carter by voting to veto his June decision to sell India 38 tons of enriched uranium to fuel the Tarapur nuclear power station near Bombay.

The U.S. helped India build the plant in 1963 and agreed to supply fuel for it. Then, in 1974, New Delhi exploded its first nuclear device, using nuclear material provided by Canada. The test helped spur Congress to pass the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978, which was signed by Carter. It requires that nations using nuclear fuel supplied by the U.S. allow on-site inspections to make certain that waste products are not being reprocessed into weapons-grade plutonium. Despite two years of negotiations with Washington, New Delhi has refused to allow inspections of all its plants.

Administration officials expected to lose the House committee vote but thought that they had a narrow chance in the Senate. Muskie argued at a closed-door hearing that canceling the sale would damage relations with India. Moreover, the Administration noted, New Delhi would be encouraged to reprocess its spent uranium into new fuel, with plutonium as a byproduct.

Ohio Democrat John Glenn, who led the opposition, reminded his colleagues that the U.S. (but not India) is among the 114 countries that signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968. Said he: "If we don't keep to our agreement, none of the other countries that have signed the treaty will take our policy seriously." The final vote was 8 to 7 against the Administration. When the full Senate and House vote, by Oct. 1, they are expected to side with the committees.

New Delhi greeted the decision calmly. Said a spokesman for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi: "We appreciate the efforts of the President to honor his country's commitments." India now is expected to step up plans to produce all of its own nuclear fuel within four years. Until then, India has enough uranium on hand to keep the Tarapur plant operating at about three-fourths capacity. Editorialized the Hindustan *Times*: "Americans need to be reminded that their action is not going to stop the Indian nuclear program." ■

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The Senate: A Thoroughbred Stumbles

Rarely—and rightly—have Americans been so critical of Congress, a circumstance that lends particular zest and importance to this year's contests. On these two pages, TIME *this week begins regular coverage for the duration of the campaign of races for the Senate and House that are significant not only for their effect on the balance of power in the 97th Congress but also for their insight into local and state issues that color the rich mosaic of America.*

Growing Old in New York

As the senior Senator walked down a Capitol corridor last week, Democrat John Stennis of Mississippi, an old ideological foe, embraced him. Said Democrat Thomas Eagleton of Missouri: "You're the best and the brightest in every respect." Republican Paul Laxalt of Nevada, another longtime antagonist, grabbed the veteran's elbow and said, "You were a thoroughbred, sir, a thoroughbred."

Just a day earlier, the thoroughbred had stumbled. After 24 years as the Senator from New York, Republican Jacob Javits, 76, lost his party's nomination for a fifth term, to an obscure suburban official from Long Island. Javits' reputation had once made him seem as durable as the Empire State Building. But he was always a member of an endangered species, a liberal Republican, and until last week he had never faced a primary fight, thanks to the late Nelson Rockefeller's iron-fisted rule of New York Republicans.

D'Amato *vs.* "Tweedledum and Tweedledee"

Conservative Challenger Alfonse D'Amato, 43, the presiding supervisor of Hempstead Township (pop. 800,000), attacked Javits for supporting SALT II, the Equal Rights Amendment and Government-paid abortions. With questionable taste, D'Amato also made issues out of his opponent's age and health. Javits admitted that he suffers from motor neuron disease, which is slowly withering his muscles. One D'Amato commercial showed a wrinkled Javits poster slowly falling to the ground as an announcer intoned: "And now, at age 76 and in failing health, he wants another six years."

Javits denounced the ads as "ghoulish," but surveys showed that his age and illness did influence voters. Said Businessman Marshall Merritt as he left the polls in Manhattan: "Javits is too old and sick for the job. The Senate shouldn't be a club for superannuated public servants." In Washington, Javits vowed to take on D'Amato again in November, as the candidate of New York's small Liberal Party. Said Javits of the coming campaign: "I assure you that it will be vigorous."

His task in forging a winning coalition will be made difficult by the liberal credentials of the Democratic nominee, four-term Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman of Brooklyn. A graduate of Harvard Law School, Holtzman, 39, impressed constituents as a tough-questioning member of the House Judiciary Committee during its 1974 impeachment hearings on Richard Nixon. She was the principal sponsor of the three-year extension for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. She backed efforts to expel Nazi war criminals from the U.S. and helped expose the fraud in a New York City summer food program that led to 17 convictions.

In winning the Senate nomination last week, she handily beat four opponents, including former New York City Mayor John Lindsay. Her principal competition was Bess Myerson, 55, who had the backing of New York City Mayor Ed Koch, Governor Hugh Carey and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Myerson mounted a $1.3 million TV campaign, financed mostly by herself and her wealthy friends, in an attempt to convince New Yorkers that her experience as New York City's commissioner of consumer affairs from 1969 to 1974 qualified her for the Senate. But Holtzman raised $1.2 million, mostly from small contributions from 35,000 people, and staged a last-minute TV blitz of her own (built around her campaign theme: "You know what she's done in the House; think what she could do in the Senate"). She also put together an organization of 5,000 volunteers.

Holtzman hopes for a double knockout

As election day drew near, the campaign turned bitter. Holtzman sniped at Myerson's lucrative consumer consultant contracts with major corporations. Myerson lambasted the Congresswoman for never having voted for a defense appropriation bill. But in the end, even Holtzman's supporters were surprised by her lopsided victory (41% *vs.* 30% for Myerson).

No sooner had the primary ended than all three candidates began campaigning for the November election. Holtzman was the initial favorite, chiefly because the state is mostly Democratic, and she has strong support among Jews, the elderly and women. D'Amato and Javits immediately began scrambling for the moderate vote. Scoffed D'Amato of Javits and Holtzman: "Tweedledum and Tweedledee." Because of Holtzman's votes against defense budgets, D'Amato complained, the U.S. military would "have trouble buying a popgun." But with endorsements from the state's tiny Conservative and Right-to-Life parties, D'Amato may have trouble attracting enough moderates to win.

Javits' last hope is to forge a coalition of independents and moderate Republicans and Democrats. But he will have to build a statewide campaign organization from scratch and raise a planned budget of at least $1 million. The task is formidable. Said an old friend and veteran New York politican: "Jack promised to campaign for the Liberal Party, and he always keeps his promises. But I don't think you'll find that his heart is in it any more." ■

Illustrations for TIME by David Levine

The House: Two Veterans Find Trouble Back Home

Fission in Fort Worth

He has served in Congress for 25 years, gradually rising through the ranks and in the esteem of his Democratic colleagues. Now, bushy-browed Jim Wright of Texas is completing his second term as majority leader, and he yearns to follow in the footsteps of fellow Texan Sam Rayburn by becoming House Speaker when Tip O'Neill retires. Wright, 57, has tended his Fort Worth constituency in ways open only to a veteran Congressman. He claims his district has more defense contracts than any other in the country, including at least $18 billion for construction of 1,388 F-16 fighters at the local General Dynamics plant. He also helped persuade the Air Force to keep open nearby Carswell Air Force Base, which employs 1,050 civilians.

But at the same time, Wright's voting record has alienated many of his conservative constituents, even though he is still the least liberal member of the Democratic leadership. That is why he is now in the toughest re-election fight of his career—and why his Republican opponent, Jim Bradshaw, 40, last week could hold the attention of 300 people at the Woodhaven Country Club who otherwise would have been watching the televised season's opener between the archrival Dallas Cowboys and Washington Redskins. Said Bradshaw: "Jim Wright voted against the B-1 bomber. Jim Wright voted for funding the Panama Canal treaty. Jim Wright voted to give foreign aid to a Marxist government in Nicaragua. It's time for a change."

Wright aims some day to be Speaker

Bradshaw, an auto-parts-company millionaire and former city councilman, is the candidate of Eddie Chiles, 70, a colorful self-made oil baron and major stockholder in the Texas Rangers baseball team. Chiles has achieved notoriety by sponsoring "I'm mad" TV ads from New Mexico to Montana that assail Government bureaucracy and liberalism. Chiles once supported Wright, but now says of him: "Jim Wright is a socialist. We had a parting of ways. One day I told him I was going to beat him and get him out of Congress." Responds Wright: "Maybe he feels a guy who owns a ball club can buy a Congressman." The race has deeply divided Fort Worth's establishment of millionaire oilmen and ranchers, who have supported both politicians in the past.

The candidates are equally matched in budgets ($500,000 apiece), and each cites polls to show that he can win. But local political experts are betting on Wright, if for no other reason than his reputation as the most powerful Texan in Congress. Says Fort Worth *Star-Telegram* Publisher Amon G. Carter Jr.: "I don't agree with the way Jim Wright votes half the time, but I know how important he is in Washington, and he's the only thing we've got up there." ■

Busing in Van Nuys

Ten-term liberal Congressman James Corman of Van Nuys, Calif., last found himself in a close contest for election in 1964 because of a decidedly local issue: open housing for blacks and Hispanics in his mostly white district. Democrat Corman, now 59, made it back to Congress by a 1,300-vote margin and has not faced another serious challenge until this year. Again the issue is local: busing that was ordered by the California Supreme Court in 1977 to desegregate public schools in Los Angeles County.

The Congressman's opponent in the election, Republican Bobbi Fiedler, 43, mother of two children, has made a political career out of the issue. She used it to win a seat on the city's school board in 1977. She decided to run against Corman last year, when he refused to push for an anti-busing amendment to the U.S. Constitution. He also declined to back California's Proposition 1, which limits the power of state courts to order busing and was approved by 81% of the voters in his district. Insists Fiedler: "Corman is completely out of touch with the people in the district. He has voted for 31 pro-busing measures in Congress." Replies the soft-spoken, white-haired Corman: "I've never had anything to do with ordering school busing. That's done by the courts. But I believe that we have to comply with the law."

Corman stays staunchly liberal

In addition to busing, Fiedler flays Corman as a big-spending supporter of wasteful social-welfare programs. Unlike many incumbent liberals elsewhere in the country, Corman does not flinch at the attacks. Says he: "I am no more liberal than I have been in the past 20 years, and no less." Indeed, his staunch support of organized labor has won the backing of Local 645 of the United Auto Workers, 2,600 of whose members have been laid off at the local General Motors plant. They soon will begin receiving $270 a week in Government benefits, largely because of Corman's efforts to get the money appropriated by Congress. But labor's support may not be much help in November. Says Sal Menchaca, the local's secretary-treasurer: "The problem with Corman is that people know the name, but not the person."

To remedy that deficiency, Corman plans to spend most of the seven weeks before the election hopscotching around his district. But he is an uninspired, uncomfortable campaigner. In contrast, Fiedler relishes politicking and avidly works shopping centers, factory gates—anywhere that large numbers of voters congregate. She plans to spend $400,000 on her race, which Corman will try to match. Though Fiedler trails Corman in the latest polls, she stands a good chance of gaining so long as busing remains the chief issue. Corman's backers are doing their best to change that. Says Menchaca: "We are telling our members that though busing is a big problem, there are more important issues." ■

Almost Everyone *vs.* Zbig

But the National Security Adviser hangs tough

Zbigniew Brzezinski. For most Americans the name is still a tongue twister, but it has become well known nonetheless, just as the proud, ambitious and dynamic Polish-born professor hoped it would when Jimmy Carter appointed him White House National Security Adviser nearly four years ago. But with his fame has come more notoriety and criticism than he expected. Aside from the President himself, Brzezinski is the most controversial member of a highly controversial Administration. He is widely blamed for many of the troubles that have beset the U.S. since he came into office.

The embattled Brzezinski in his office in the West Wing of the White House

Dazzling intellectual virtuosity, but theories sometimes too clever by half.

During a brief appearance at last month's National Democratic Convention in New York City, Brzezinski was booed by many of the delegates. Last week Brzezinski was the target of a scathing indictment by William H. Sullivan, former U.S. Ambassador to Tehran. In the latest round of one of Washington's favorite parlor games, "Who Lost Iran?" Sullivan pins the tail squarely on Brzezinski, accusing him of undermining diplomatic efforts to open contacts with the Ayatullah Khomeini and thus blunt the anti-Americanism of the revolutionary regime. Writing in the fall issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine, Sullivan also claims that Brzezinski first scuttled a U.S. plan to mediate between Khomeini and the Iranian armed forces, then tried to organize by remote control an anti-Khomeini military coup, even after the Shah had fled the country.

Citing the delicacy of ongoing efforts to secure eventual liberty for the hostages, Brzezinski refuses to respond point by point to Sullivan's bill of particulars. (Khomeini last week specified the conditions for freeing the 52 captives: the return of the Shah's fortune to Iran; release of Iranian funds now blocked in American banks; cancellation of U.S. claims against Iran; and guarantees that the U.S. will not interfere in Iranian affairs.) But in an interview with TIME last week, Brzezinski characterized the Sullivan charges as "totally self-serving." He also denied one charge that, if true, would be especially damning. Sullivan writes that in November 1978 Brzezinski dispatched Ardeshir Zahedi, then the Shah's envoy to Washington, on a fact-finding mission to Iran, thus circumventing and humiliating Sullivan, and that Brzezinski consulted with Zahedi every day over an open long-distance telephone line, with the Soviets presumably listening in. According to Brzezinski, however, Zahedi returned to Tehran on his own initiative and phoned only two or three times. "I have no regrets," says Brzezinski.

This week Brzezinski is preparing to defend another aspect of his performance during the Iran crisis, and he is scheduled to do so in an inquisitional setting that his predecessors have been spared. The White House has waived the Executive privilege that normally protects National Security Advisers from congressional summonses, and Brzezinski has agreed to testify before the special Senate Judiciary subcommittee investigating Billy Carter's ties with Libya.

In November Brzezinski asked the President's brother to invite a Washington-based Libyan diplomat to the White House. The purpose of the meeting was to persuade the Libyans to press Khomeini on the release of the hostages. "It was a reasonable thing to do in very trying circumstances," Brzezinski maintains, adding that soon after —and perhaps because of—Billy's intercessions, Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi did indeed send the desired message to Khomeini, although Gaddafi's appeal had no discernible impact on the crisis.

But the question remains: Why was it necessary for either the President's brother or his National Security Adviser to act as intermediary with a member of the Libyan embassy in Washington? Such contacts are routinely handled by the State Department. This case, like that of Brzezinski's dealings with Zahedi, left an inescapable impression that he was attempting an end run around his supposed colleagues in Foggy Bottom and the Foreign Service. As a result, Brzezinski was more mistrusted and even despised than ever at the State Department and among career diplomats—hardly a desirable attitude toward the official who is supposed to coordinate the various agencies of U.S. foreign policy.

Brzezinski also faces questions from the Senate panel on why, in late March, he warned Billy that one of his Libyan business deals—an attempt on behalf of the Charter Oil Co. to obtain additional quotas of Libyan crude—could be embarrassing to the Administration. Brzezinski knew about the deal because he had received from CIA Director Stansfield Turner a top-secret report based on intelligence sources who would be extremely vulnerable if their identities were revealed, or even guessed.

Once again Brzezinski has no regrets. "I would have been in a reprehensible position if I had sat on it," he says of the report. Besides, "no classified information was conveyed to Billy. He knew what he was doing." Justice Department officials, looking into the possibility that Brzezinski may have violated the nation's espionage laws, say privately they think there is little chance he will face criminal charges. But they question his judgment.

So do many others, on many other issues. A man of dazzling intellectual virtuosity and erudition, Brzezinski has sometimes seemed to be badly served by his brilliance. He is so deft at formulating fancy theories, and he so likes to hear himself spin them out, that he has tended to pay less attention than he should to making those theories work in practice —and, indeed, to figuring out whether they can work. Brzezinski was a principal author of the Carter human rights

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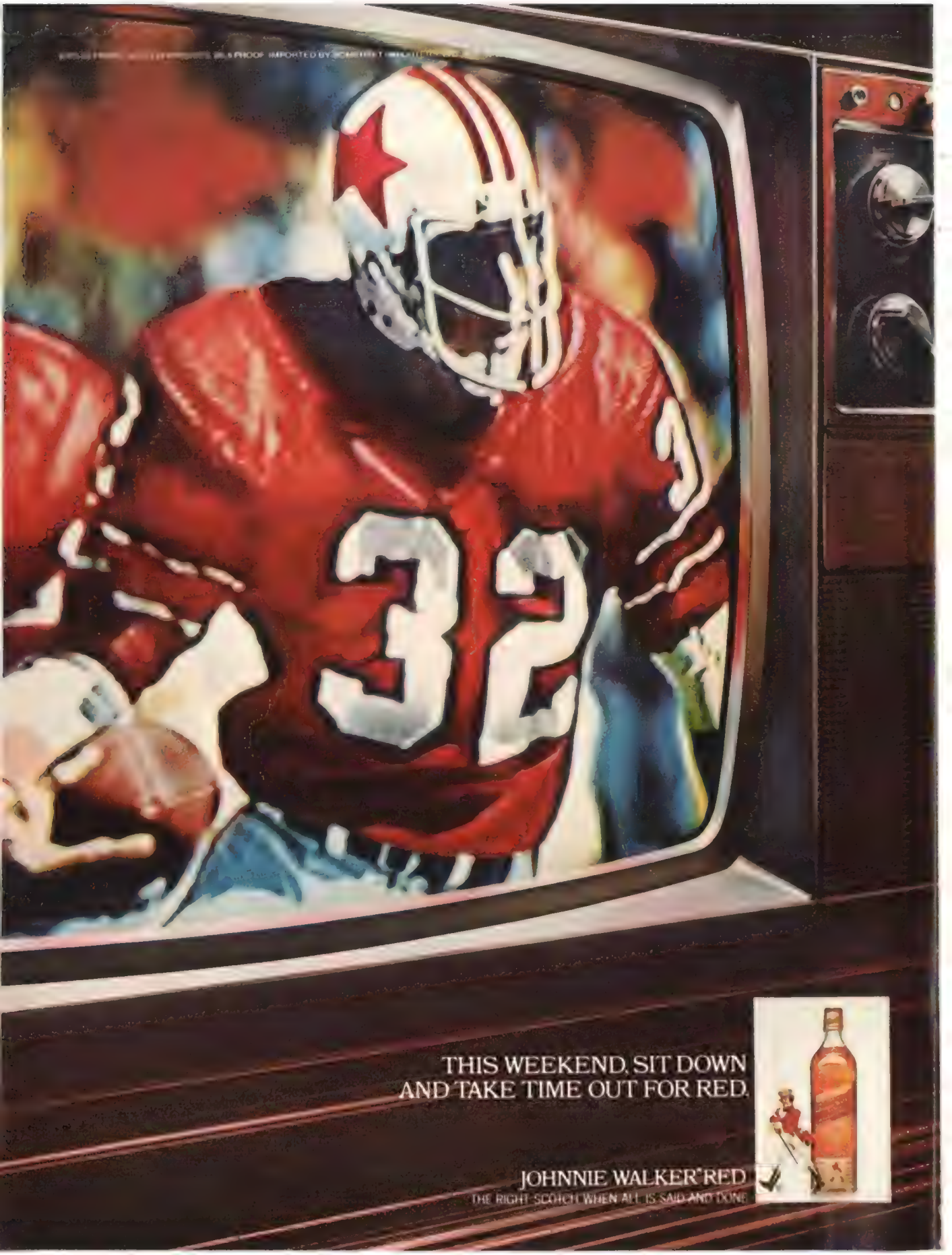
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campaign, which has survived only in drastically modified, and more modest, form after its collision with Realpolitik in South Korea, Iran and the U.S.S.R. Early in the Administration he promoted the idea that the U.S. should relegate Soviet-American relations to a less central position in the seamless web of international affairs. Trouble was, the Kremlin refused to accept the demotion.

It was Brzezinski who unveiled in 1977 the concept of Iran and Saudi Arabia becoming "the regional influentials" on whom the U.S. could rely in the Persian Gulf. Now that Washington's relations with Tehran are severed and those with Riyadh are strained, Brzezinski is fascinated by the potential of radical, traditionally pro-Soviet Iraq as "the new regional influential."

Brzezinski's labels too often seem facile, even interchangeable, and his theories too flexible, too clever by half. In 1977-78 he argued that the U.S. must learn to live with revolutionary change in Third World countries. Then, in 1979, without admitting a major shift in policy, he pushed vigorously, though unsuccessfully, for a policy of backing Nicaraguan Dictator Anastasio Somoza to the bitter end.

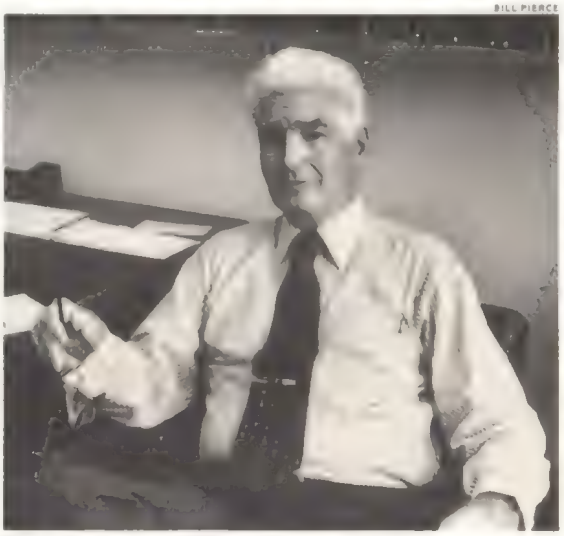
Brzezinski has also shown poor judgment in indulging his visceral anti-Russian sentiments and his combative, provocative personality in public. During a trip to China in 1978, he challenged an aide to a race up the Great Wall, saying, "Last one to the top has to fight the Cubans in Ethiopia." It would have been a harmless joke, except that the Soviets as well as some State Department officials were already quivering with anxiety about the anti-Soviet overtones of the trip, and the reporters gathered round were sure to overhear the quip and make news out of it. They did.

Similarly, on a visit to the Afghan-Pakistani border in February, he allowed himself to be photographed posing with a Chinese-made AK-47 automatic rifle. Good fun, maybe, but definitely not statesmanship.

In private, Brzezinski is far less pugnacious. Says former Aide Samuel Hoskinson, "He's a gentleman and a scholar in the true sense of the words." Seweryn Bialer, a fellow Polish American who succeeded Brzezinski as director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, calls him "extraordinarily decent and honest." Bialer says he has profound disagreements with the Carter Administration, particularly over its difficulty in promulgating clear and steady policies, but he does not blame Brzezinski alone: "It's the President's fault. My disappointment with Brzezinski is that he cannot change the President to make him less spasmodic."

Brzezinski believes that he is under attack because of the politically supercharged atmosphere and because he is vulnerable to both the left and the right: the left resents him, in his view, for being correct about the dangers of Soviet expansionism, while the right criticizes him for supporting the embattled SALT II treaty and the human rights policy. Brzezinski argues that despite the setbacks of the past few years, the Administration has laid the ground for effectively countering the Soviets, for repairing frayed ties with Western Europe and Japan, for consolidating the new Sino-American relationship (for which Brzezinski takes personal credit, with some justification), and for improving its dialogue with the Third World—if, of course, Carter gets another four years.

BILL PIERCE



Former Ambassador William Sullivan

Pinning the tail on Zbig in the game of "Who Lost Iran?"

Whether Brzezinski, too, would be around that long is an underlying issue in the current controversy about him. Says Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington, a former colleague at the White House, and one of his few public defenders: "A lot of this criticism has erupted now because people who disagree with his views are trying to keep him out of a second Carter Administration." Certainly there are many people at the State Department who hope Brzezinski will go even if Carter stays. But there is a good chance that if Carter is re-elected, Brzezinski will prevail over Edmund Muskie's State Department as decisively—and sometimes brutally—as he did over Cyrus Vance's.

For one thing, Muskie has been something of a disappointment to his own troops. He has the ego and the stature to compete with Brzezinski, but so far he has not shown the energy. He has complained about the amount of paperwork and the complexity of the problems, and he has tended to take off for long weekends at his seaside home in Maine. Brzezinski, by contrast, is an indefatigable, even exuberant worker. Between now and the election, Muskie can get his way by going public with his annoyance at Brzezinski's methods, as he did last July when the National Security Adviser completed plans for the Administration's revised nuclear targeting policy without consulting the new Secretary of State

Despite the problems he causes, presidential political advisers are not likely to press for Brzezinski's ouster. The reason, according to a close aide: "Zbig may be feeling some heat, but Ronald Reagan is his best insulation. Carter is not going to dump the house hard-liner just as he is fighting to prove he is tough on defense."

By all accounts, the bond between the President and his adviser is still strong. Carter remains loyal to and dependent on Brzezinski as his mentor in foreign affairs, a role he acquired in 1973 when the Columbia professor met and hit it off with the Georgia Governor. Brzezinski's name is still the first on the President's daily calendar, and he is often the last adviser Carter speaks to at night. Says Defender Huntington: "Brzezinski retains the President's confidence, and that is what is important." Leslie Gelb, who fought numerous battles with Brzezinski when he was a State Department official and has criticized him publicly since leaving the Government last year, says, "I think Brzezinski has been damaged irreparably everywhere except with Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter."

As he demonstrated in his stubborn support for Bert Lance three years ago, Carter tends to reject even the most persistent and often justifiable criticisms of a close friend and trusted adviser. The President's loyalty is more commendable than his wisdom in Brzezinski's case, just as it was in Lance's.

While the National Security Adviser cannot be blamed for the recent misfortunes that have befallen the U.S. or for the President's own failures of leadership, Brzezinski is personally responsible for exacerbating institutional tensions within the Government, needlessly agitating foreign leaders with his penchant for braggadocio, and sowing confusion with pronouncements that too often sound like geostrategic gobbledygook. Thus he has contributed to the impression so widespread at home and abroad of an Administration that is impetuous and in disarray. In that sense, Brzezinski is unquestionably part of Carter's overall political problem, now as the President faces the election and later if he gets a second term. *—By Strobe Talbott. Reported by Gregory H. Wierzynski and Roberto Suro/Washington*

One of the dancers in "Dancin'," now in its 3rd year at New York City's Broadhurst Theater and touring in a national road show

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Illinois State Representative Yourell's photograph of the *Kalia III*, dinghy and body

Drugs and Death on the High Seas

A Bahamian triangle of smugglers and unwary skippers

A soft warning to the thoughtful skipper on the possibility of hijacking. The U.S. Coast Guard advises owners of yachts cruising in the Bahamas and Caribbean to be very careful about taking on hitchhikers and paid hands. Even a rescue at sea should be approached with caution.

It is an unusual cautionary note in these days of pleasure cruises in the Bahamas and the Caribbean, where the legends of bloodthirsty pirates like Blackbeard and Jean Lafitte survive only in tourist brochures. But the warning, published in the respected *Yachtsman's Guide to the Bahamas*, is aimed at putting modern skippers on their guard against today's version of piracy: yachtjacking by drug smugglers who use tiny Bahamian cays as bases for shipping cocaine and marijuana from Latin America to South Florida.

Just how many yachts have fallen prey to smugglers is unknown; unless the boats or debris from them turn up, the U.S. Coast Guard lists missing yachts as "overdue pending further developments." But skippers in marinas along the Florida coast are increasingly convinced that many of them are not simply missing. Three incidents in particular have heightened boatowners' apprehensions:

▸ In the logbook of their 41-ft. sloop *Kalia III*, Patti Kamerer, 46, recorded "Anchor up!" on April 28 as she and her husband William, 55, left Fort Myers for a six-month "dream cruise" of the Bahamas. It ended on July 25 with another laconic log entry: "Moored at Pipe Cay." Six days later, Illinois State Representative Harry Yourell, 62, and Son Peter, 20, aboard their 25-ft. cabin cruiser, eased up to the *Kalia III* and made a grisly discovery: in a dinghy bobbing astern lay a bloated body. The yacht was riddled with shotgun pellets, smeared with blood and littered with debris, including Patti's spectacles and bikini bra. Yourell told TIME Midwest Bureau Chief Benjamin W. Cate: "I haven't seen anything as bad since the South Pacific in World War II." Yourell radioed the authorities, who sent a plane to fly over the cay. But by the time the police arrived by boat a day later, the body had apparently slipped into the sea and disappeared. Nassau authorities inexplicably claimed that there never had been a body until Yourell angrily made public his photographs of the scene. Bahamian authorities now acknowledge that a constable aboard the plane spotted the body and that the yacht was a shambles as described by Yourell (though they insist, despite accounts from at least three eyewitnesses, that there were no shotgun holes or embedded pellets in the yacht).

▸ Retired Armonk, N.Y., Businessman Lester Conrad, 68, and Philadelphia Stockbroker Walter Falconer, 60, set out in calm weather five months ago aboard Conrad's sleek 45-ft. *Polymer III* from Great Harbor Cay for West Palm Beach, a seven-hour cruise that Conrad had made at least 40 times. The *Polymer III* has not been seen since. The Coast Guard suspects no foul play, but friends and family of both men note that not only was Conrad an experienced yachtsman, but his boat was equipped with an automatically inflatable lifeboat and S O S radio beacons that would have switched on if the boat had sunk. Smugglers would find the *Polymer III* especially attractive because of its speed (22 knots), 3,000-mile cruising range and six-ton cargo capacity.

▸ Thomas Loberg, 63, and Wife Rignor, 62, believe that they and their 47-ft cruiser *Rig-n-Tom* were nearly lured to disaster near Chub Cay last year by a fake S O S. The radio caller mysteriously requested *Rig-n-Tom's* position rather than giving his own. A traveling companion, Pat Vaughan, happened to be reading about misleading distress calls in *The Island*, Peter Benchley's fictional account of modern Bahamian piracy, and urged Loberg to ask for the caller's position. There was no answer. Five minutes later, a high-powered fishing boat appeared on the horizon and began chasing *Rig-n-Tom*. The intruder veered away, however, when Loberg put his yacht under the lee of a friendly sailboat.

Such close encounters on the high seas have caused many skittish yachtsmen to arm themselves before sailing in Bahamian waters, despite the authorities' insistence that there is no cause for concern. But there is no denying that the drug trade is booming in the small cays. Says Skip Nichols, 33, a Fort Myers marina operator: "Right where *Kalia III* was found, I have watched drug transactions with my binoculars." There are so many isolated cays—at least 2,000 among the 700 or so islands in the Bahamas archipelago—that the traffic is difficult to police. But some spots have become notorious among yachtsmen, including Norman Cay, just 30 miles from Pipe Cay. Norman Cay is four miles long and has an airstrip and marina. The key was once a happy watering hole for passing sailors, but it has been declared off limits to them by a new owner. Bahamian authorities raided Norman Cay last January, arrested 30 people and seized an undisclosed quantity of cocaine and marijuana.

Many Florida-based yachtsmen accuse Bahamian authorities of being reluctant to act against the smugglers for fear of jeopardizing tourism. This is denied by Bahamian officials, who insist that the islands remain a peaceful playground for yachtsmen. Still, warns Skip Nichols, "If you're not careful, you can get run over by those high-powered drug boats." ■

The MacNEIL/LEHRER REPORT WITH CORRESPONDENT CHARLAYNE HUNTER GAULT

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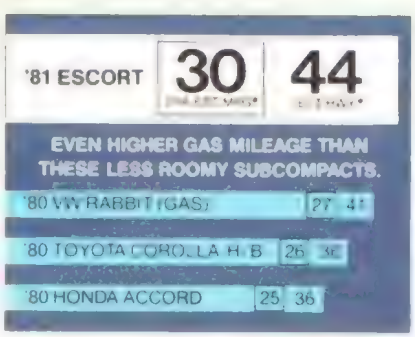

Escort combines the higher mileage of a subcompact with the interior room of a compact (based on EPA Volume Index)

Escort will be made in America for American drivers... with other models built and sold overseas

*Applicable only to units without power steering or A/C. Chart compares 1981 Escort sedan EPA ratings to 1980 competitive ratings as 1981 competitive ratings were unavailable at the time of printing. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual hwy mileage and California ratings lower. Excludes diesels and other Ford Products. See your local Ford Dealer after the October 3 Escort introduction for his 1981 Gas Mileage Guide.

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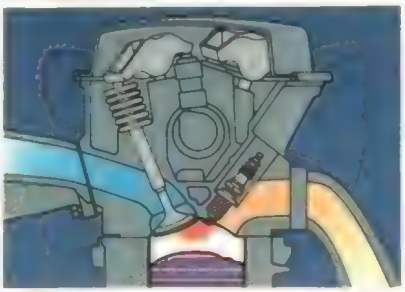

Escort has a new-design compound valve hemispherical head (CVH) engine that focuses the incoming combustion charge for power efficiency.

Result: high mileage combined with power for freeway driving.

Escort's new manual transmission with 4th gear overdrive standard is another reason Escort is rated at 44 highway. Escort's all-new automatic transmission with patented split-torque design is also available.

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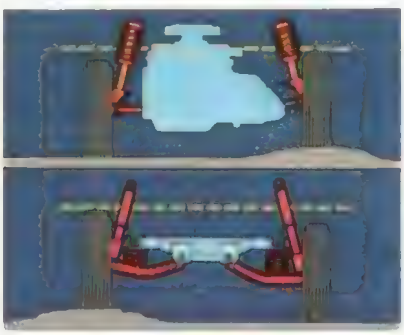
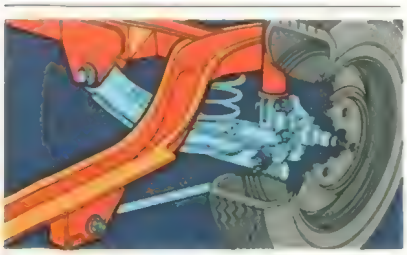


To match the performance of these new engines and transmissions, the sure-footed Escort comes with front-wheel drive for traction on snow and wet roads... the smooth road-gripping of four-wheel fully independent suspension... the precision of rack-and-pinion steering... stabilizer bar... new all-season steel-belted radials for mud, snow and wet roads... and other road-control features.

HIGH-STRENGTH STEEL



Escort makes use of weight-efficient special steel—high-strength steel. This steel, along with other strong weight-efficient materials, helps Escort achieve high mileage without sacrificing solid construction.

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Worries in world capitals about the wells and tanker lanes of the gulf: Saudi Arabia's Ras Tanura refinery

MIDDLE EAST

Preserving the Oil Flow

The U.S. seeks to shore up security in the Persian Gulf

The barren hills near the Iraqi border town of Khanaqin quaked with the thump of artillery fire last week. While Iraqi MiGs and Iranian Phantoms dueled in the skies overhead, tanks were battling on the ground, yet again, over a patch of disputed frontier. Iraq and Iran have been skirmishing along their border for nearly two years, ever since the downfall of the late Shah. The fighting did not spread, but it underlined afresh the edgy, mercurial state of the Persian Gulf region, repository and supplier of so much of the world's oil

In Washington, in the capitals of Western Europe, in Tokyo, the future of the countries around the gulf has become an obsession with policymakers, diplomats, generals and economists. There is nothing altruistic about their concern. Approximately 40% of the oil consumed by the non-Communist world, including nearly a third of the U.S.'s imports, comes from the gulf. Moreover, since the region holds more than 50% of the world's known petroleum reserves, the economies of the West—not to mention of the Third World—will increasingly depend on the security of the wells and tanker lanes of the gulf.

That security is in jeopardy at virtually every point of the compass. To the north, Iran sinks deeper and deeper into chaos. To the west, what is widely seen as Israel's intransigence emboldens radicals, undercuts moderates and enrages almost everyone in the Arab world. To the south, the memory of last year's attack by zealous dissidents on the Sacred Mosque in Mecca still sends shudders through the House of Saud and the monarchies that rule the gulf's mini-states. In the waters of the gulf itself, a Soviet guided-missile cruiser and its frigate escort have replaced the Shah's navy in patrolling the shipping channel through the 40-mile-wide Strait of Hormuz. The U.S.S.R now maintains 85,000 troops in Afghanistan and has military advisers in South Yemen and Ethiopia, while a fleet of ten Soviet warships and 16 support vessels cruises the Indian Ocean

The rise of anti-Western Islamic militancy, the instability of the gulf states,* the explosiveness of the Arab-Israeli con-

Soviet missile cruiser on station in the gulf

*Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and Iraq

Two patrol boats of the Omani navy police the strategic Strait of Hormuz

Concern that all the attention may provoke, rather than deter, intrusive Soviet policies

flict and the buildup of Soviet power have generated intense anxiety, even some apocalyptic pessimism among Western statesmen. "We are on a roller coaster to disaster," said Henry Kissinger in congressional testimony last July. "Our future is now at the mercy of a precarious political status quo in what is probably the most volatile, unstable and crisis-prone region of the world."

National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski believes that the U.S. and its allies can still head off disaster. "The area I once called the arc of crisis [the northern and western rim of the Indian Ocean] may well be the focus of our major effort in the 1980s to enhance geopolitical stability," Brzezinski says. "Between 1945 and 1955, the major thrust was in Western Europe and the Far East. From 1955 on, it was in assuring overall strategic stability vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. It is very likely that in the 1980s we will be involved in an unprecedented effort to assure stability, and therefore exercise deterrence, in the Persian Gulf area."

The Carter Administration's initial response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan last December was largely rhetorical. In his State of the Union message in January, the President warned that "an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the U.S., and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

Critics charge—and White House officials privately concede—that the U.S. is ill prepared to back up Carter's tough talk. Declared former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger last week: "The military forces presently and prospectively in place in the region are not sufficient by themselves adequately to constrain Soviet moves if the Soviet Union were to become more aggressive."

But the Administration has begun to redress the Soviet-American military balance in the region. The U.S. has negotiated agreements with Somalia, Kenya and Oman for access to their ports and airfields in a crisis. Borrowing vessels from its Mediterranean and Pacific fleets, the U.S. Navy has stationed two nuclear-armed aircraft carrier groups in the Indian Ocean and a five-vessel task force in the area of the gulf itself. In March the Pentagon announced the creation of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force, a reservoir of more than 200,000 troops from which the President could draw an instant expeditionary force.

Says the commander of the RDJTF, Marine Lieut. General Paul X. Kelley: "We have a global mission, but our focus is on the Persian Gulf." Since some of the units available to Kelley are not sufficiently trained and equipped for combat and most are based in the U.S., the force would have to be quickly whipped into shape and airlifted to staging areas near the combat zone. There it would "marry up" with equipment and supplies prepositioned on ships now cruising off Diego Garcia, a British-owned island in the Indian Ocean some 2,500 miles south of Hormuz. The U.S. has leased base rights on the island.

Making good on Carter's vow in the event of a showdown in the gulf could be a logistical nightmare. Administration strategists are concentrating on dealing with four possible emergencies. Three are based on the Afghanistan experience —"invitations" to Moscow by secessionist Azerbaijanis in northwestern Iran, or by Baluchis in southeastern Iran, or by an embattled leftist government in Tehran that eventually might take over from the mullahs. The fourth possibility is a Soviet thrust into Pakistan, under the pretext of hot pursuit of Afghan rebels. In each case, the U.S. would have to contend with an overwhelming Soviet advantage: geographical proximity. "When you talk about projecting combat power 7,000 miles and then sustaining it over the long haul," says Kelley, "it boggles the mind. That's why it's absolutely essential that we have access to facilities in the region."

Critics, including Ronald Reagan, believe that the U.S. will need more, including a land-based military presence in or near the gulf area. Explains Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser, Richard Allen: "The key problem with the Carter Administration's approach is the absence of American personnel on the ground."

Administration officials would love to have U.S. bases within tactical aircraft range of the oilfields. But as Vice Admiral Thor Hansen, staff director for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, acknowledges, "The leaders of the area have made it clear they don't want U.S. bases on their territory."

Even the U.S.'s best friend in the Arab world, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, has said he does not want U.S. forces stationed on his soil. Saudi Arabia, too, is opposed to bases. The reason, as asserted by the kingdom's suave Princeton-educated Foreign Minister, Prince Saud al Faisal: "The introduction of bases by one side will only bring about more military activity by the other side."

Even the one hospitable Arab government, Oman, has reservations. Explains Abdul Aziz al Rowass, an adviser to Sultan Qaboos of Oman: "The U.S. must have access to our facilities, but only on request. It is up to us to say yes or no." Rowass, who wears the traditional Omani curved dagger, the khanjar, in the embroidered belt around his flowing white robe, points to one of the many maps on his office wall in Muscat and adds, "We will never allow the facilities to be used against neighboring and friendly countries."

The U.S. has repeatedly disclaimed any such intention. "We're not going to get involved in internal conflicts or conflicts between states of the region," insists Kelley. But the suspicion lingers in the gulf that the strategists in Washington have a supersecret fifth contingency use for Kelley's RDJTF: American seizure of the oilfields in a local crisis, or in the event of another Arab oil boycott or a massive price hike by OPEC.

Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates are especially worried about the "oil-grab scenario." Officials there attach ominous significance to the emergence as a Reagan foreign policy adviser of Johns

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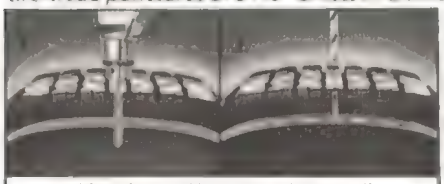

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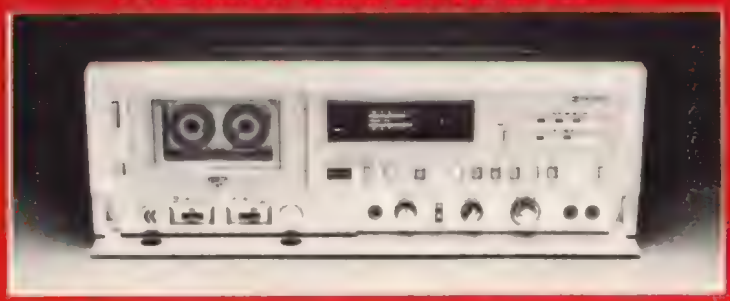

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Hopkins University Professor Robert W. Tucker, the author of a controversial 1975 article in *Commentary* laying out the rationale for a possible U.S. seizure of the fields.

There is also concern in the gulf that the present searchlight of American attention will provoke, rather than deter, more intrusive Soviet policies. Kuwait especially fears that U.S. rhetoric about protecting the region against the Soviets has the ring of self-fulfilling prophecy. "I hate these people talking about how they're going to defend and save our oil," says Sheik Sabah al Ahmad al Sabah, Kuwait's Foreign Minister, gesturing angrily toward a pile of Western newspapers on his desk. "Defend us against whom? Who's occupying us? We haven't asked anybody to defend us. Yet we find all these ships around us asking for facilities. It's all a bit like a film with two directors—Russia and the U.S. How will the film end? Perhaps with both big powers agreeing, 'O.K., these oilfields belong to us, and those to you. We'll divide up the region from here to there.' Is that how it will end?"

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein calls for "the rejection of the presence of foreign armies and military forces or any foreign forces and military bases or any facilities in any form or under any pretext or cover or for any reason whatsoever in the Arab homeland." If anyone is going to police the gulf, in Saddam's view, it will be Iraq.

The Carter Administration hopes that Iraq's aspirations to fill the vacuum left by the fall of the Shah will induce Baghdad to put some space between itself and its longtime benefactors in Moscow. But at the same time, U.S. experts realize that Iraq is not about to endorse an active U.S. role in the area. In fact, Saddam has said that any Arab state that cooperates too closely with the U.S. should be "isolated politically and economically."

Most vulnerable to such threats is Oman. Among the gulf's other, more timid but traditionally pro-Western leaders there is apprehension that the U.S. may unwittingly contribute to Sultan Qaboos' downfall by courting him too publicly and congratulating him too loudly. Around the State Department and National Security Council this is known as the "kiss of death" problem.

But with Carter on the defensive in the presidential campaign, the White House has not been able to resist public boasting over its facilities-access agreement with Oman. "Why must the White House keep saying this openly?" asks Kuwait's Sheik Sabah plaintively. "Does the U.S. have to put Oman in a bad position like this?"

France and Britain—and, for that matter, Western Europe as a whole—generally support the Carter policy, but wish it could be conducted with less publicity. France operates a 14-vessel fleet in the Indian Ocean, while British contract officers occupy key military positions throughout the gulf; yet both the Quai d'Orsay and Whitehall assiduously downplay their roles.

Reagan Foreign Policy Adviser Allen believes that the answer for the U.S. is not lower visibility but higher credibility: "Of course the U.S. must worry about the kiss of death problem. But the opposite of the kiss of death would be an embrace of strength. Our friends in the region must be able to count on a firm and steady policy of U.S. support."

The trouble is that American credibility in the Arab world depends not so much on how much military muscle the U.S. can flex as on how much political clout it can bring to bear in the Arab-Israeli standoff. The U.S.'s inability to budge the Israelis from the West Bank and to mediate a settlement of the Palestinian issue has direct and damaging consequences for American efforts to shore up gulf security.

As viewed from Washington, that security depends primarily on keeping the Soviets out. But seen from Kuwait, Bahrain or Iraq, security depends on defusing the Arab-Israeli conflict. From their perspective, far more disturbing and potentially destabilizing than the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is the Knesset's formal annexation of Arab East Jerusalem.

"Jerusalem," says Sheik Hamad bin Isa al Khalifa, the Crown Prince and Defense Minister of Bahrain, "will always be more important to us than Kabul." Adds Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud, his fist clenched and his voice rising in what for him is an uncharacteristic display of frustration: "Israeli aggression is no better than Soviet aggression. If the U.S. wants to bring stability and protect independence in this region, then how can it ask our cooperation in opposing the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan unless it also opposes the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian lands occupied in 1967?"

Arab officials are virtually unanimous in arguing that what they see as Israeli annexationism is not just a major or central problem—it is all pervasive. Until the U.S. is perceived to be influencing Israel toward eventual withdrawal from the West Bank, it will be unable to have much influence on the gulf states. Many U.S. experts on the Middle East, both in the area and in Washington, agree with that gloomy assessment. "Our stock out here is at an alltime low," concludes an American diplomat in the region.

With their immense wealth and their fixation on a different enemy from the one Washington worries about, the gulf states are simply not very amenable to U.S. leverage.

The stagnation of the Camp David process has been a great boon to Soviet interests in the area. By making the most of its longstanding support for the Palestinian cause against the U.S., Israel and Egypt, the U.S.S.R. has been able to weather quickly and painlessly the initial storm of protest within the Arab world over the invasion of Afghanistan. As Oman's Abdul Aziz al Rowass observes sadly, "The Arab-Israeli problem is the gate through which the Soviet Union entered our region, and that gate won't be closed until the problem is solved."

His government, for one, still distinguishes between the issues of gulf security and Arab-Israeli peace, cooperating with Washington on the former while criticizing it on the latter. But for the moment Oman is the only country in the gulf willing to make—and act on—that distinction. It may not be able to do so forever.

—By Strobe Talbott

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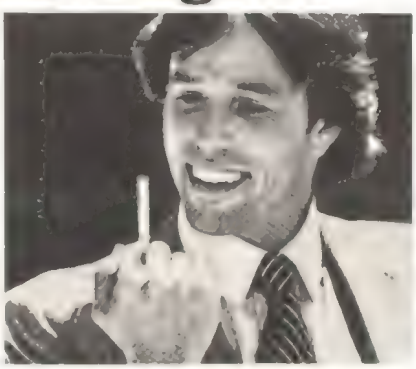

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Profiling the Gulf States

Vast riches and growing pains for the Arab sheikdoms

For 550 miles, from the Shatt-al-Arab in Iraq to the Musandam peninsula in Oman, a shallow, aquamarine trough of water glistens under the brutal sun —the Persian, or Arabian Gulf, depending on the side of the water on which one stands. On either shore, the Arabian and Iranian plateaus form some of the most uninviting landscape anywhere: endless vistas of desert and rock, so desolate that in one stretch in Saudi Arabia it is known as *Rub'al Khali*—the Empty Quarter

Along the gulf's shores and in its waters, nature has left vast underground pools of oil controlled today by Iran and seven Arab states. With a total estimated population of 24 million and a daily oil production of 17 million bbl., the gulf states alone have the power to hold the industrial world for ransom

There is no indication that any one of them has the desire or feels the need to do so. Compared with the convulsions plaguing Iran, the atmosphere on the Arab side of the gulf is relatively calm. Business is good. Oil money has brought riches beyond imagination. Black ribbons of tarmac connect capitals of concrete and glass that have mushroomed where small fishing and pearling villages stood little more than a decade ago

Yet the tranquil façade cannot conceal the fact that the gulf has become a focal point of geopolitical tension. The demise of Iran as a regional superpower has left the area in a vacuum: the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has stirred fear. If the vision of a clash between Moscow and Washington over oil is the ultimate nightmare of gulf leaders, Iran's revolution has raised immediate concerns over regional rivalry and internal stability.

The upheaval in Iran has also taught gulf rulers that building on the wealth brought by oil is not enough. Modernization must be coupled with social and political reform. Most of the states have created far-reaching social welfare programs and give education high priority. But a higher standard of living and better education could lead to demands for greater political participation; though the leadership remains accessible through the majlis, the traditional consultation process between ruler and ruled, such consensus politics may not suffice for much longer. The rise of fundamentalist Islam as a political movement in Iran is not lost on the sheiks and emirs. At least two states—Kuwait and Bahrain—plan to revive consultative assemblies soon, while Saudi Arabia is in the process of forming a new assembly that will hold its first elections in the next year or two

Moreover, hundreds of thousands of foreign workers have descended on the gulf states to perform tasks too technical or too demeaning for gulf Arabs to do themselves. Yemenis, Pakistanis, Taiwanese, Thais and Filipinos clean the streets, serve in restaurants and manage hotels—a large and disquieting foreign presence. Educated Egyptians and Palestinians occupy key professional posts, even serving as top advisers to heads of state. The Palestinian diaspora, estimated to be 400,000 through the gulf, has been the major factor in the gulf states' refusal—Oman is the exception—to support the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

Brief Baedekers on the Arab gulf nations:

SAUDI ARABIA. For centuries, the Red Sea port of Jidda has been the gateway to Islam's holy places in Mecca. Jidda's transformation during the past decade from a ramshackle port to one of the busiest commercial centers in the Arab world is the most visible sign of the world's largest oil exporter's extraordinary new wealth. Billions of dollars have been spent to create basic transportation, communications, electricity and water systems in Saudi Arabia; the new five-year plan will earmark another $221 billion for development. One Saudi dilemma: of an estimated population of between 5 million and 8 million, as many as 1 million—75% of the labor force—are foreign workers

The House of Saud retains its hold on power. Yet in an age of revolution, an absolute monarchy seems excruciatingly vulnerable, particularly since the kingdom's security forces are small and un-

New symbols for a new age: towers in Kuwait

Sultan's palace and old fort dominate Omani capital of Muscat; below, downtown Abu Dhabi

Saudi Arabian National Guardsmen, in traditional regalia, stand at attention during parade

tested. The power structure frustrates young Saudis as they return from studies abroad. Western experts and Saudi officials alike nervously recall that Iranian students, educated on government scholarships abroad, were the shock troops of the revolution against the Shah.

In a state governed by the *shari'a* (religious law), the chasm between the ideal of Muslim piety and the lush life-style of many Saudi princes, moreover, was a factor that led to the seizure of the Sacred Mosque in Mecca by orthodox Muslim dissidents. Since that traumatic event, Saudi leaders have begun to crack down on corruption and dissolution in their own ranks. One close observer of the Saudi scene compares the Sacred Mosque incident to a heart attack: not fatal, but leaving the royal family with a frightening intimation of mortality and the resolution to lead a cleaner, more disciplined life.

IRAQ. One of the most startling developments in the Middle East during the past two years has been the evolution of Iraq, one of the superrich oil states (expected 1980 revenue: $30 billion), from a position of uncompromising radicalism to one that involves cooperation with its conservative gulf neighbors, mainly Saudi Arabia. The change is in part due to the personal ambition of President Saddam Hussein to become a regional leader.

As the commander of the gulf's largest (220,000 men) and best-equipped military force, Hussein is giving every indication that he intends to play the Shah's old role as policeman of the gulf—an ambition the smaller gulf states view with some apprehension. Drawing away from the Soviet Union, Iraq (pop. 12.2 million) has turned to Japan, France and West Germany for industrial technology and weaponry. France, Iraq's biggest oil customer, has been instrumental in bringing Iraq to the threshold of nuclear power; last June it closed a $1.5 billion deal to supply Baghdad with a variety of sophisticated weapons.

KUWAIT. "You know what I'd like?" the professor remarked as he floated in a pool at Kuwait University. "I'd like to be in California right now. What is there to do here? Nothing." Among the young and educated in the gulf, the complaint is common. Many have studied in the U.S., and, despite their sense of hurt and betrayal over American Middle East policy, there remains enormous nostalgia and good will for the U.S.

Kuwait is politically and economically the most advanced of the gulf states. It became a constitutional monarchy after it gained its independence from Britain in 1961. In 1976, the 50-member National Assembly was suspended, but last month the Crown Prince and Prime Minister, Sheik Saad al Salah, announced that the assembly would be restored in February, after general elections. The move to bring back parliamentary life is a clear bid to contain rising discontent.

In fact, much power will probably remain within the Chamber of Commerce, where Kuwait's so-called 14 families, the country's business elite, congregate to debate policy. It is this oligarchy that many young Kuwaitis find unacceptable. Although per capita income for Kuwait's 1.5 million people is $15,000 a year, there have been complaints, largely from academics, that 95% of the wealth goes to only 5% of the population.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES. For centuries the tribes along the southern gulf coast embodied the essence of Araby. Bedouins roamed the desert in the vast inland stretches of Abu Dhabi. Savvy merchants turned Dubai into a notorious smuggling port. A great seafaring tribe, the Qawasim, ruled Sharjah and dominated the gulf's coastal routes until feudal intrigue and British colonial meddling fractured their holdings into independent emirates.

Today the same people incarnate modern Arab lore emerging from the magic elixir of oil. The oil price boom in 1973 began barely two years after seven gulf emirates—Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Shar-

Street scene in Baghdad (above); students at work in girls' primary school in Riyadh

jah, Ajman, Umm al Qaiwain, Ras al Khaimah and Fujairah—set aside tribal quarrels to form a loose federation. The cornucopia of oil money has yielded perhaps the highest per capita income in the world for Emirates citizens (in excess of $100,000 a year) and created a cradle-to-grave welfare state. But the Emirates face the most serious population imbalance in the region: of a population of 900,000, fully 80% are foreigners.

BAHRAIN. The first oil producer in the Arabian peninsula, this island nation has come to grips with the fact that its wells, now pumping only 50,000 bbl. a day, will soon run dry. It is rapidly transforming itself into the service and financial center of the gulf. More than 120 banks have opened offices in Bahrain with an eye on the ballooning revenues of the oil producers. But some 70% of the population (250,000) is under 20 years of age, and there have been rumblings against the absolute rule of Sheik Isa bin Sulman al Khalifa, who has decided to reopen the National Assembly.

QATAR. Throughout the 4,400-sq.-mi. desert peninsula in eastern Arabia, the land does not rise higher than 360 ft. above sea level; the average annual rainfall is a scant 4 in., falling mostly in short cloudbursts in winter. Slowly, with great care, a modern state is being built. Qatar is one of the lesser oil producers in the gulf (411,000 bbl. a day), but the population is also small (250,000, of whom only 60,000 are native Qataris). The country has been found to have vast natural gas reserves, though at current prices development is considered uneconomical. Still, the sheikdom has taken steps to diversify by developing petrochemical, shipping and steel industries. "We do not want to be a short-range country," says Saeed Mis'hal, a Palestinian who heads the Industrial Development Training Center.

OMAN. Ten years ago, Oman (pop. 800,000) was one of the most underdeveloped nations in the Arab world. It had only three elementary schools, a handful of doctors and nurses, and was ruled by tyrannical Sultan Said bin Taimur, who hoarded state revenues (all in gold) in the basement of his palace. Finally, his Sandhurst-educated son, Qaboos, then 29, staged a palace coup and set about bringing the country into the 20th century. Today Oman boasts 375 schools and 14 modern hospitals. A rebellion in the Dhofar region, fanned by Marxist South Yemen, has been snuffed out as Oman, gatekeeper of the Strait of Hormuz, has built up its military forces. Oman has no large Palestinian presence; Qaboos' top advisers and military commanders are British—two factors that may help explain Oman's special relationship with the U.S. —*By Marguerite Johnson. Reported by William Stewart and William Drozdiak/The Gulf States*

Hasty Marriage Across the Sea

Libya and Syria agree to tie the knot in the latest merger try

Rarely has a marriage between nations been arranged so quickly. On Sept. 1, Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi sounded out Syrian President Hafez Assad on the question of merger. A week later, Assad flew off to Tripoli to discuss details; two days after that the deal was struck. According to a 13-point proclamation issued in Tripoli and Damascus, the two leaders had agreed to form a "political, economic, military and cultural union" that would become "the base for confronting the Zionist presence in the Arab homeland and the liberation of Palestine."

Outsiders could be forgiven a certain skepticism. No merger of Arab states has yet worked for long. Enough have been attempted: Syria alone has tried to unite, at one time or another, with Egypt, Libya and Iraq, and all such efforts have ended in failure. Moreover, few details of the new merger have been agreed upon. So far the new partnership has no name, no head of state, no constitution, no joint institutions, no capital city. Nonetheless, Syria's Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam was dispatched to Saudi Arabia and five other Arab states to seek their blessing and invite one and all to join.

The Libyans, with uncharacteristic caution, described the creation of a union as a long and complex process. As one top government official, Ahmed Shaltati, explained to TIME Correspondent Roland Flamini: "We now have more experience in these affairs, and we shall proceed step by step. After all, we both practice socialism, we both struggle to create Arab unity, and we share a common aim to liberate Palestine."

In some ways, merger could be useful to both countries. As usual, Syria is having trouble with neighboring Iraq, and could use some of Libya's oil riches for its ailing economy and for modernizing its Soviet-equipped army. Libya is at loggerheads with Egypt and Morocco and is viewed with suspicion by a number of other Arab states. There are also some problems at home. Gaddafi has vowed to go to Upper Galilee to fight the Israelis. Apparent meaning: he would not mind sending to Syria some of those Libyan military units, now based in Tobruk near the Egyptian border, that last month attempted an insurrection against his regime.

While Gaddafi and Assad were talking merger last week, the Egyptians and Israelis were inching their way back toward negotiations on Palestinian autonomy. The two sides had earlier agreed to resume the talks and to hold another summit conference, probably in Washington, some time after the U.S. elections. Last week Israel's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir flew to Alexandria to see President Anwar Sadat and discuss existing differences. The Israelis have hinted that as a good-will gesture to Egypt and the U.S., they may release some Palestinian political prisoners and Prime Minister Menachem Begin may postpone the transfer of his office to East Jerusalem. Moreover, in a move supported even by hawkish Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, the Israelis said that they would build only four more Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank—perhaps a sign that they were beginning to realize how much their settlements policy has contributed to Israel's isolation in the world. ■

Libya's Muammar Gaddafi (left) and Syria's Hafez Assad reviewing troops in Tripoli

Their goal: a "base for confronting the Zionist presence in the Arab homeland."

TURKEY

The Generals Take Over Again

A rising tide of political violence spurs a reluctant coup

For months, Turkey's generals had warned squabbling politicians to stop feuding and start working together to help end the country's surging factional violence. But the bickering continued, and the death toll from leftist and rightist terrorism mounted from an average of six a day in January to 18 a day so far in September, and to the point where there was talk of imminent civil war. After one particularly bloody stretch, General Kenan Evren, Turkey's chief of staff, complained: "Everyone speaks of national unity, but unfortunately, everyone fails to bring it about."

Finally the military took matters into its own hands. Shortly after midnight last Friday, tanks, armored personnel carriers and ground troops fanned out through Turkey's capital city, surrounding government buildings and setting up roadblocks. In a bloodless coup, a National Security Council, composed of six generals, replaced the democratically elected government of Premier Süleyman Demirel. Evren, 62, a political moderate who heads the junta, said in a radio announcement that the army had moved to prevent "followers of fascist and Communist ideologies, as well as religious fanatics, from destroying the Turkish Republic."

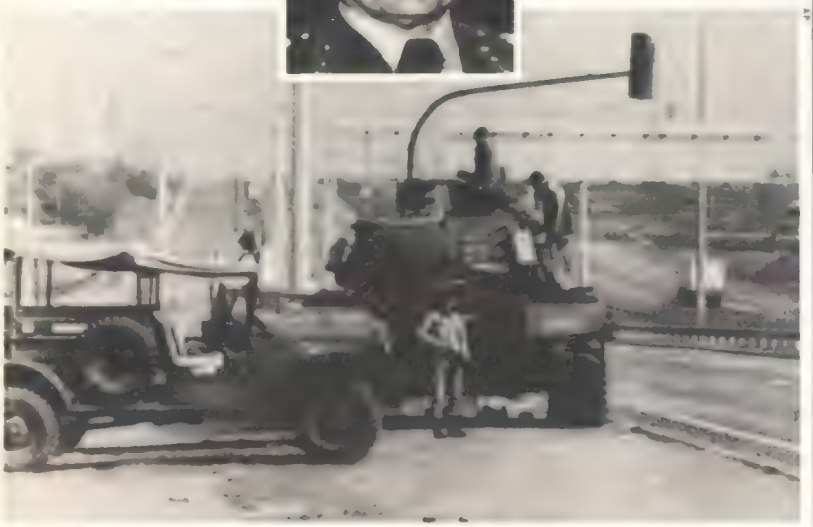
Striking quickly in the night, the army detained 120 of the country's leading politicians, government officials and trade union leaders. Demirel, leader of the Justice Party, was taken under escort to a military camp in Gallipoli, southwest of Istanbul, as was Bülent Ecevit, head of the opposition Republican People's Party. Martial law, which was already in effect in 20 of Turkey's 67 provinces, was imposed nationwide. A curfew was declared, and frontiers and airports were closed. The generals dissolved parliament, banned all political and trade union activity, and announced that they would run Turkey "until necessary laws are prepared for the smooth functioning of a parliamentary democracy."

Twice before, in 1960 and 1971, the military had intervened to get the civilian government on track; each time the generals handed power back to the politicians as soon as possible. Indeed, the Turkish constitution authorizes the military to step in whenever the security of the state is in jeopardy. As their repeated warnings to the government indicated, Evren and his colleagues were anything but eager to take over. They were aware that a suspension of parliamentary government would threaten vital economic aid from the West and that military rule might even encourage further terrorist activity.

It was the near paralysis of government that forced the military's hand. With Demirel unable to muster a majority in parliament and with Ecevit anxious to foil him at every turn, the legislature has not been able to enact a law for at least six months. Its efforts to elect a new President have stretched unsuccessfully—and somewhat comically—over more than 100 ballots. Even a package of antiterrorist measures supported by both men has sunk into the partisan quicksand. Demirel's right-center party could probably win a majority if Turks went to the polls tomorrow, but Ecevit's left-center group and a small bloc of Islamic fundamentalists have stymied attempts to move the elections up from next June.

The political turmoil undercut a series of promising economic reforms instituted by Demirel last February. Hoping to bring Turkey back from the brink of bankruptcy, Demirel devalued the lira, lifted restrictions on foreign investment, and cut subsidies to inefficient state-owned firms. These steps boosted Turkey's international credit and opened up the aid pipeline from the U.S., Western Europe, Japan and Saudi Arabia. The painful food and fuel shortages of last winter eased. Still, Turkey remains heavily in debt (upwards of $18 billion), unemployment is over 20% and rising, and the inflation rate approaches 120%.

In the meantime, terrorist violence, which has claimed more than 2,000 lives this year and more than 4,000 since 1975, has pushed the country toward anarchy. Until recently, extremists of the left and the right were content to bump off each other. In the past few months, however, they have murdered a member of parliament, a former Prime Minister and a union leader. Communist underground groups have become defiant: last week, before the coup, they festooned Ankara's shopping area with posters booby-trapped with small explosive charges. Soviet propagandists stepped up their broadsides against the Demirel regime. A military source told TIME's Mehmet Ali Kislali in Ankara: "It all seemed like a rehearsal for a Communist revolt."



General Evren, inset, and a roadblock near Istanbul, after the curfew was imposed

Trying to crack down on terrorists without running roughshod over human rights.

Because of the convulsions in neighboring Iran and in Afghanistan, the West has all along been jittery about any sign of instability in Turkey. The country is the southeastern bulwark of NATO's defense and a moderate influence in the Islamic world. Its 300-mile border with the Soviet Union makes it a critically important listening post, vital for verification of SALT. While disappointed that democratic procedures had been suspended, the allies viewed the military's intervention as a necessary—and temporary—evil. Said U.S. State Department Spokesman John Trattner: "We take the Turkish generals at their word that they will do what they said they would do."

Many Turks seemed to welcome the military takeover as a respite from the fearful bloodshed. Some terrorists no doubt envision an entirely different outcome. Experts have long suggested that leftist revolutionaries wanted a military regime, in hopes that it would prove so oppressive as to produce a full-scale popular uprising. The generals now have the unenviable task of clamping down on the terrorists, without running roughshod over human rights. ■

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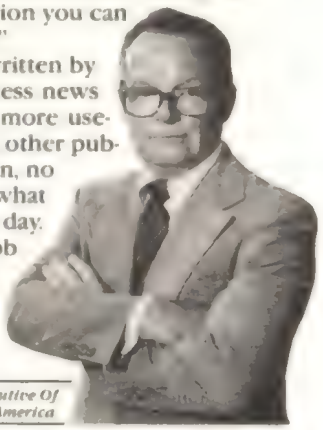

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POLAND

A New Party Boss Takes Charge

As a few strikes persist and workers launch free unions

The three-room flat in a crumbling prewar building in central Warsaw normally houses a family of five. Last week it was suddenly transformed into the bustling headquarters of Warsaw's new independent trade union. Day after day, a steady stream of workers flowed through the kitchen to sign up for membership. In the back bedroom, beneath a photograph of Pope John Paul II, workers sat at a round table discussing union organization with intellectuals and lawyers who had volunteered to advise them. The commotion did not bother Stanislawa Runowska, 68, a round-faced woman who lives in the flat with her daughter and three other relatives. "It is all for the good of the Polish nation," she explained with a smile. "We are patriots."

Similar scenes were taking place elsewhere in the country as workers scrambled to form the independent unions they had been promised by the government in a series of extraordinary strike settlements. Negotiated separately in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, the accords had ended the country's major strikes after two months of labor turmoil. Now the workers were seeking the fruits of their hard-won victory. In Gdansk, the union headed by Lech Walesa, leader of the Lenin Shipyard strike, was already operating out of its new headquarters in the busy Baltic port. In the capital, faculty members of Warsaw University were organizing a teachers' union. The Szczecin-based board of the Polish seamen and dockworkers was planning to submit a motion of secession from the party-controlled Central Council of Trade Unions (C.R.Z.Z.).

Such mass defections threatened to reduce the government's official labor organizations to empty administrative shells. Seeking to avoid that eventuality, newly installed C.R.Z.Z. Chairman Romuald Jankowski called for sweeping reforms aimed at turning the existing bodies into "independent and self-governing organizations for working people." He appealed to workers to remain in the old unions, elect new leaders, and "help us change our policy."

But few workers seemed willing to renounce the right to create their own unions. On the contrary, scattered strikes broke out in more than a dozen factories as skeptical workers demanded assurances that the major agreements signed elsewhere also applied to them.

Against this backdrop of simmering unrest, Poland's new party boss, Stanislaw Kania, moved to restore public confidence in the government and the party and shore up the disastrous economic situation that had sparked two months of upheavals. Kania, 53, had been chosen at an emergency Central Committee meeting on Sept. 5 to replace the ailing Edward Gierek. A medical bulletin last week described Gierek's condition as "improving," following a reported heart attack. After his first week in power, Kania remained a largely unknown figure to most of Poland's 35.4 million citizens. But if Kania lacked the broad popularity that Gierek had enjoyed upon taking office nearly ten years ago, he had some decided advantages over his predecessor. While Gierek had built his political base in Silesia, Kania, whose party responsibilities formerly included internal security, had spent most of his career as a Warsaw apparatchik—a man who knew the party administration from the inside and was trusted by his colleagues.

Stanislaw Kania shortly after his appointment

More important, Kania was able to build on something Gierek had lost: Moscow's confidence. In a cordial letter of congratulations, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev praised Kania as a "staunch Communist" firmly committed to "the inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union" and to the "leading role of the Communist Party." Behind the praise lay the clear expectation that Gierek's successor would preserve the party's supremacy in Poland.

Kania outlined his policy in an address to the Central Committee shortly after his appointment. He promised to honor the strike agreements, but pointedly warned "antisocialist elements" not to exploit the situation for their own ends. He traced the labor upheavals to legitimate grievances over the party's "serious economic mistakes." He pledged to restore public trust through bold economic reforms and even suggested that the party might adopt a form of collective leadership in order to improve its efficiency. But he was careful to stress Poland's unshakable loyalty to the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet alliance.

The new leader also pursued conciliatory themes during a two-day visit to Gdansk and Katowice. Televised excerpts of his speeches gave the nation its first close-up view of the dark-haired, heavy-set politician. Speaking in a deep, quiet voice, Kania declared in Katowice that the only kind of "force" that could stem the workers' discontent was "the strength of confidence, the power of the party's bond with the masses." On the crucial question of labor organizations, Kania said he preferred the principle of "unity"—meaning the monopoly of the party-controlled unions—but would respect the new independent labor organizations. One public hint of his reputed toughness was a call to "fight resolutely against those [advocating] positions inconsistent with socialism," an apparent allusion to dissident intellectuals as well as potentially troublesome workers.

Despite Kania's talk of moderation and reform, doubt remained about his intentions. His freedom of action was limited in any case by the dilemma he had inherited from Gierek: repudia-

Warsaw labor delegates queue up with lists of new union members

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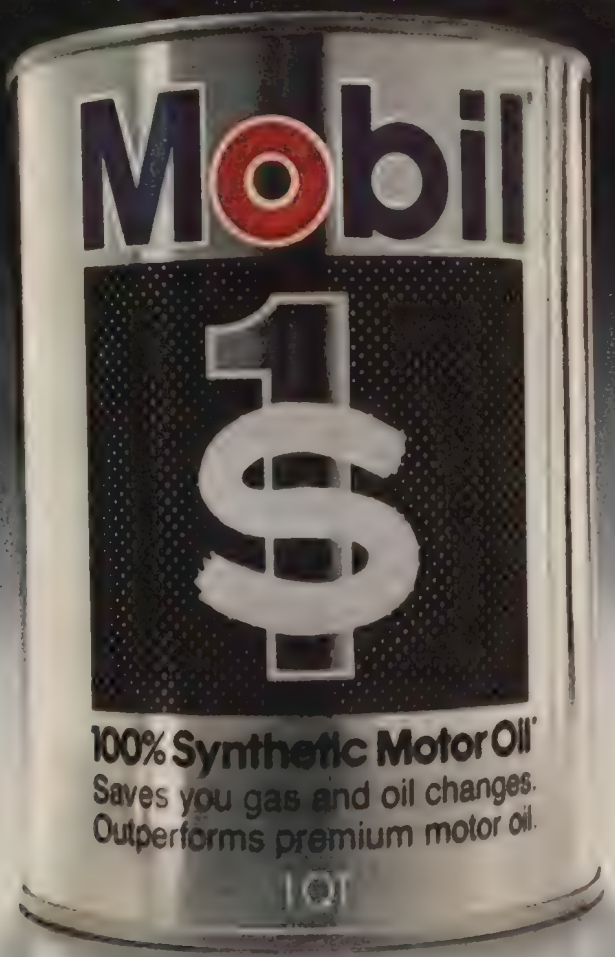

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tion of the agreements would spark renewed labor upheavals, yet the establishment of truly independent unions would irk Moscow. For the present, he seemed to be feeling his way, seeking a balance between the workers' expectations and the Kremlin's imperatives.

Describing the quandary facing the leadership, Central Commitee Member Mieczyslaw Rakowski told TIME: "For the party, this was a huge shock. These changes should be carried out by the party. But you can't do this under shock." Despite the confusion sown by the strike experience, Rakowski felt that the promised reforms could be "a very positive step toward a socialist system that will be accepted by the people."

Washington policymakers seemed willing to take Kania's assurances at face value for the time being; their optimism was shared by few analysts in Western Europe. Said a skeptical West German Foreign Ministry expert: "What we saw [in the accords] was a tactical retreat by the government. Warsaw needed to fend off the danger of Soviet invasion and get the workers back to their jobs. Now the clawing back of what was given on paper begins." West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, moreover, had special reason for gloom: both men got on well with Gierek and saw his relative openness to the West as an important factor in maintaining European détente.

On one point there could be little disagreement: the appalling state of the Polish economy. Planning Chief Henryk Kisiel estimated that the strikes had caused a $667 million drop in national income, while the promised pay raises would cost $3 billion a year. This would place a severe strain on an economy already groaning under a $20 billion hard-currency foreign debt.

"Then, in addition to the annual and monthly dues, there'll be your organizing dues, your assessments for the strike fund, the medical and hospitalization fund, union officers' salaries, general operating expenses, the annual picnic . . ."

Kisiel outlined a number of possible reforms to remedy the situation: some industrial decentralization, a better balance of goods and money in the marketplace, increased production of consumer goods, and the transfer of about $200 million to the agricultural sector to boost sagging food production. One key reform he proposed will be hard for the people to accept: an overall price rise, which sparked the strikes in the first place.

No amount of economic reform can succeed without a massive influx of foreign aid. As Poland's foremost trading partner and a major creditor ($550 million in hard-currency loans since May), the Soviet Union is a logical source. Warsaw accordingly dispatched a delegation to Moscow to seek assistance and explain the strike agreements. Headed by First Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, the man who negotiated the Gdansk accord, the Polish envoys met first with Soviet trade officials. Jagielski then held a private meeting with Mikhail Suslov, the Soviet Politburo's hard-lining ideologist; diplomats in Moscow had no doubt that Suslov expressed strong disapproval of the independent trade union concept. The question undoubtedly came up as well

Kania's Inherited Platform

A major test for Party Leader Stanislaw Kania will be the way in which he handles the Gdansk agreement between workers and the government. The accord, vaguely worded in some key places, gives him a lot of maneuvering room, as these excerpts from the official text show:

▸ In setting up new, independent and free self-governing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee states that the unions will recognize the leading role of the Polish Communist Party and will not undermine the established system of international alliances. The new unions will defend the social and material interests of the workers but will not assume the role of a political party.

▸ The Interfactory Strike Committee will establish a center for social and labor studies, whose job will be to monitor the living conditions of the working people.

▸ The right to strike will be guaranteed.

▸ The government will table with the *Sejm* [parliament], within three months, a bill on the control of the press, publications and entertainment [as justified by the need] to protect state and economic secrets.

▸ The government will ensure radio transmission of Sunday Mass, subject to a detailed agreement with the episcopate.

▸ Radio, TV and press should express a diversity of views and opinions. They should be subject to public control.

▸ The press, as well as citizens and organizations, should have access to public documents, archives [and certain governmental planning documents].

▸ Gradual wage increases for all employees will be introduced, with the lowest wages being raised first.

▸ It has been found imperative to check the rising price of essentials through intensified controls on the socialized and private sectors and to discontinue the hidden price rises.

▸ The supply of meat to the domestic market will be improved by Dec. 31, 1980 [chiefly by limiting meat exports and increasing imports].

▸ It was agreed to ensure an adequate number of places at kindergartens for the children of working women.

▸ An analysis based on the national economy will be conducted to define the duration of the leave and the amount of monthly allowance for women on maternity leaves.

▸ By Dec. 31, 1980, authorities will submit a program to improve the housing situation and shorten the waiting time for an apartment.

▸ Programs for providing more free Saturdays with pay [or compensatory free time] will be submitted by Dec. 31, 1980.

▸ The government pledges to ensure the personal security and uphold the current terms of employment for the participants in the present strike and their supporters.

during Jagielski's meeting with Brezhnev the following day. Whatever political advice the Soviet leader gave, TASS announced that Moscow's deliveries of food and manufactured goods would be stepped up to ease Poland's crisis.

The Soviet press, meanwhile, continued its campaign against "antisocialist elements and Western imperialist propaganda." In particular, *Pravda* blasted AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and other U.S. labor leaders for sending aid to "antigovernment" Polish strikers and labor unions. The American leaders, warned *Pravda*, "are profoundly mistaken in thinking that their interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Polish state will go unnoticed."

Despite Moscow's heated public rhetoric, however, quiet diplomatic contacts had in fact taken place. In two meetings with Soviet representatives, U.S. officials reiterated Secretary of State Edmund Muskie's public calls for noninterference. Two weeks ago, in discussions with Soviet Chargé d'Affaires Vladillen Vasev, Muskie disavowed any U.S. Government responsibility for the financial aid sent by American labor groups. But Washington did not scrimp on its official aid to Warsaw: at week's end President Carter announced a $670 million credit for the purchase of U.S. grain and foodstuffs.

Back in Warsaw, another high-level meeting took place last week between leaders of two important power blocs: the workers and the Roman Catholic Church. At the invitation of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Labor Leader Walesa attended a private Mass at the chapel of the Primate's palace, followed by a meeting in the Cardinal's apartments. The invitation was widely interpreted as an attempt by Wyszynski to mend fences with the workers, many of whom felt that he had failed to support them adequately during the strikes. The workers were especially disappointed by the Cardinal's Aug. 26 sermon calling for "calm and responsibility." Excerpts were broadcast on state television, giving the impression that Wyszynski opposed the continuation of the strikes. The Polish episcopate later protested that it had not authorized the broadcast and that the government had edited it to serve its purposes, but many workers remained suspicious.

"I think the Cardinal realized his mistake and that is why he received Walesa," explained Warsaw Journalist Stefan Kisielewski. If the sermon was a mistake, it will soon be forgiven by Poland's Catholic workers. Though it is uncertain whether the church will forge an alliance with the emerging labor movement, strong bonds of faith and common purpose remain—bonds that Stanislaw Kania can ill afford to ignore. Says Kisielewski: "You can't fight the workers and the church." —*By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Barry Kalb/Warsaw and B. William Mader/Bonn*

General Augusto Pinochet casts his vote in plebiscite in Santiago

CHILE

The Dictator's New Clothes

Pinochet's constitution wins big, but starts small

"*Vota si!*" The exhortation seemed to come from every billboard, radio and TV set in the country, and despite a muted chorus of dissent, the issue was never really in doubt. Last week, in a national plebiscite held seven years to the day after the violent overthrow of their last freely elected government, Chile's voters roundly endorsed the military regime of General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. The vote ratified a new constitution that gives Pinochet, 64, at least eight more years as "transitional" President—and suggests the full rebirth of direct democracy only in 1997. As the returns trickled in, tens of thousands of jubilant demonstrators gathered outside the presidential headquarters in Santiago, waving banners and chanting "*¡Gracias a Pinochet!*" Obviously moved, the dictator called the results a "heroic gesture" and a "triumph over Communism."

It was at the very least a personal triumph for Pinochet, who had tailored the new constitution to his own specifications. The charter outlaws doctrines "founded in class struggle" (a code phrase for Marxism) and commits Chile to a free-market economy. And though it specifies a return to democracy, the pace it mandates is leisurely enough to keep Pinochet in office until 1989—and possibly eight more years after that—when open presidential elections must finally be held.

In addition, many of the emergency powers Pinochet has wielded since 1973 would remain intact. Buried among the constitution's guarantees of individual rights is an article allowing the President to arrest individuals without charge and suspend constitutional freedoms at the mere "danger of the perturbation of internal peace." The new constitution seems to offer Chileans the sort of authoritarianism they have had all along. Only in 1997 may they elect their President; until then, the choice will be made for them.

In holding the plebiscite, Pinochet may have been trying to improve his reputation abroad. If so, the attempt received an embarrasing riposte on the eve of the vote: Amnesty International released a detailed report that cited a dramatic increase in arbitrary arrests and systematic torture in Chile over the past two months. According to the report, Chilean secret police have rounded up between 1,000 and 2,000 people since July 15. Most were beaten and tortured; many have not been heard from since their arrests.

In the end, the Chilean people appear to have voted not so much for Pinochet's vision of the future as for the stability and relative prosperity of the present. Most Chileans, especially the women, who make up 56% of the electorate, still remember the critical shortages and triple-digit inflation of the Allende years. So when the sex-segregated voting booths opened last week, both men and women turned out in force, some of them nervously determined to reject Pinochet, but most willing to support him as long as the good times last. The final tally: 67.6% of voters endorsed the constitution.

It is not yet clear what Pinochet intends to do with his victory. Last week he outlined an ambitious program of social security reform, new housing and economic growth for the country, and he insisted to reporters that he is not interested in serving beyond the next eight years. Sources close to him say that he may want to establish an authoritarian but benevolent dictatorship rather like that of Francisco Franco's Spain, without becoming the geriatric embarrassment that Franco was in his last years. ■

CHINA

Rise of a Model Bureaucrat

Zhao's tough job is to prove "the superiority of socialism"

"The Central Committee is of the opinion that he is a suitable choice and worthy of our trust." With those words, China's Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng last week formally announced to the National People's Congress that, as expected, he would step down from his top government post to make way for a new Premier, former Sichuan province Governor Zhao Ziyang. Hua also made it official that seven Vice Premiers, including the architect of the transition, Deng Xiaoping, would retire from their government posts; among their successors will be the Westward-leaning Foreign Affairs Minister, Huang Hua. But it was the appointment of Zhao that best symbolized the rise of a pragmatic, younger generation to power, as TIME *Peking Bureau Chief Richard Bernstein reports:*

Over the course of last year, Sichuan province, Deng's home, emerged as a national model for China and Zhao, 61, as a model bureaucrat. Zhao had been denounced during the Cultural Revolution as a "stinking landlord element" (his father had been a landowner in Henan province) and was paraded down the streets of Canton in 1967 with a dunce cap on his head, a type of experience he shared with a number of other Chinese leaders. He disappeared for four years; then, in 1975, after serving in both Inner Mongolia and Guangdong province party posts, he was sent to Sichuan, as Party Secretary and Governor.

With the evident approval of Deng, Zhao pioneered many of the programs that have now been approved as policies for all of China. "We must adopt whatever is most effective," he said. "We must never cocoon ourselves like silkworms." He favored practically everything that Chairman Mao Tse-tung had opposed —free markets for agricultural products, competition among enterprises, bonuses and higher salaries for workers to spur productivity. He introduced experimental measures into some 100 factories, allowing profits to be used in part for reinvestment or for better working conditions. So successful were Zhao's policies that, to no one's surprise, he turned up in Peking earlier this year as a member of the Standing Committee of the all-powerful Politburo and as Vice Premier in charge of the government's day-to-day workings.

Zhao now faces the formidable task of making China's backward economy productive and of shaking up a stifling bureaucracy. He has his work cut out for him. Recently, for example, a foreigner imported a car. The exercise involved three visits to the Public Security Bureau, three to the country's only insurance company, three more to the customs office. The final mandatory stop—the car must be clean before it can be licensed—was at Peking's only car wash, where the bill came to $40. Exclaimed a Chinese intellectual on hearing the story: "I'll wash that car for half the price. If I could wash just three a month, I'd make my present salary."

Chairman Hua says that China will soon begin to demonstrate "the superiority of socialism," but at the moment it is all too easy to see the inefficiency, the mediocrity produced by lack of competition, and the sluggishness of the bureaucracy. The national travel service is both rigid and expensive: it refuses, for instance, to make a hotel booking unless a visitor agrees to bear the cost of hiring an interpreter to escort him from the airport to the hotel. Many visitors do, of course, need such a service, but those who do not must take it anyway. Reservations on the national airline are almost impossible to make. Factories tend to be dirty, basic maintenance of machinery woefully inadequate. Produce markets are erratically stocked, often with bruised and wilted fruit and vegetables.

The Chinese are being encouraged to study hard and think boldly. Yet if a worker goes to a library in a big city to borrow a book about art, he will in most cases be told that art books are available only for members of the official artists' societies. If a university or research institute wishes to order some books or magazines from abroad, it is not permitted to do so directly but must submit the request to higher authority for approval.

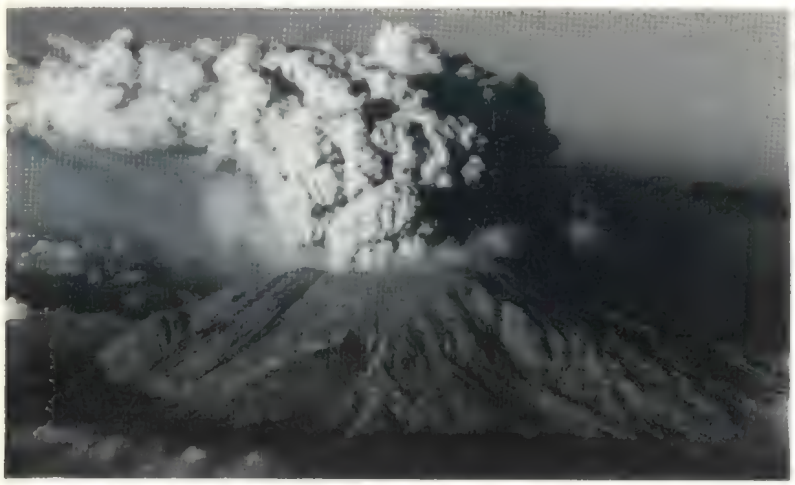
One particularly unpleasant feature of life is what the Chinese call *qiang xing da pei*, or forced distribution. It means simply that if one wants to buy a particular item in a store, the clerk, who is eager for a productivity bonus, may insist on the purchase of an additional, slower-moving item as well.

Other difficulties derive from the enormous power that a person's work unit, the local authority over his life, has over what should be private matters. Permission of the unit is necessary to study abroad, to visit relatives in another city, even to get married or divorced. In one case in Peking a few months ago, a husband and wife wanted a divorce. The husband's unit agreed, the wife's did not; it took months of arbitration before the two were finally allowed to separate. Nothing is more saddening than the life of thousands, perhaps millions, of married couples who live apart because the bureaucracy has randomly assigned husbands and wives to work in different cities. It is an ironic fact of life today that as a result of somewhat relaxed emigration policies, it can be easier for someone to become reunited with a close relative abroad than with one who is living in China.

But there is no doubt that the political atmosphere is more relaxed and economic conditions better than they have been in years. There is cynicism, to be sure, and millions of Chinese would undoubtedly emigrate if given the chance. But there is also an astonishing lack of bitterness toward the regime, even among those who suffered terribly during the past two decades. Indeed there is an almost palpable desire among the Chinese to restore the greatness of their civilization. That kind of patriotism provides Premier Zhao, who also suffered during the Cultural Revolution, with a powerful asset as he sets himself to the chore of making China's "Four Modernizations" work. ■

Party Chairman Hua Guofeng (left) chatting with Zhao Ziyang, who succeeds him as Premier

"Adopt whatever is most effective. We must never cocoon ourselves like silkworms."



An eruption in July: the suspense continues after the initial blowup

Decoding the Volcano's Message

At Mount St. Helens: T shirts, bumper crops and suspense

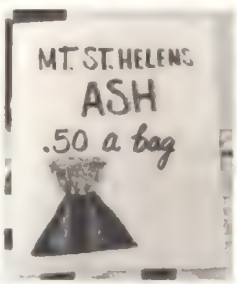
It is the hottest show out of the West, competing with Disneyland and the tinsel of Hollywood. Visitors are flocking to it by the thousands. For sheer suspense it rivals even Hitchcock, continually hinting of ominous new surprises. The sulfurous center of all this attention is Mount St. Helens, site of the largest volcanic explosion in the U.S. in more than 60 years.

When the volcano erupted last May 18 with the force of 500 Hiroshima-size atomic bombs, it blew away a cubic mile of earth, killed at least 31 people (another 32 are missing and presumed dead), destroyed or damaged 220,000 acres of timberland and created a monumental dredging job on three nearby rivers. In the four months since then, the mountain has been restive but not cataclysmic. There have been four major eruptions and numerous smaller ones, the most recent on Aug. 15. But Mount St. Helens lets no one rest, especially scientists.

Last week harried U.S. Geological Survey workers noticed a quirky change in the volcano's gaseous emissions. Abruptly, the 5-to-1 ratio of carbon dioxide to sulfur dioxide dropped sharply to 2.4 to 1. Similar drops preceded at least two of the post–May 18 eruptions. That raised immediate concern that the volcano was about to blow again. But the ratio is no certain predictor. Says Geologist Bob Noble: "We don't have anything that's 100% accurate."

Tiltmeters on the mountain's north rim were showing a slight but growing deformation similar—but on a much smaller scale—to the bulge on the peak's north face before the May explosion. Scientists were not sure if it was caused by a swelling on the rim or the settling of material on the floor of the crater. Inside the crater a lava dome has been forming. It glows red as molten rock roils underneath its hardened crust. The questions: Will it be able to cap the volcano? Or will pent-up gases blast through again?

Almost anywhere in the wedge-shaped 400-km² (150 sq. mi.) blast zone stretching north of the mountain, all appears to be devastated, a sea of gray volcanic ash. Geologists and biologists believe it will be decades before life comes back to the mountain's highest slopes. Yet lower down, in what looks like a totally forbidding, colorless world, life, incredibly, is returning. Deer tracks have been spotted on otherwise barren slopes; new growths of ferns and skunk cabbage are poking through the ash. Tree sprouts are "coming up beautifully," says John Allen, 72, geology professor emeritus at Portland State University.



Huckstering in Ashington

In a few respects, the aftermath of Mount St. Helens did not live up to its worst billing. Concern in May over immense crop failures under the mantle of ash has proved unfounded. There is a bumper crop in hops, and the apple harvests, while not at record levels, are bountiful. In and around Ritzville (pop. 2,000), 310 km (190 miles) from the mountain, wheatfields are yielding a third more bushels than last year. In some ways, the ash did more good than harm: its slight acidity helped neutralize the alkaline soil, and it let the ground retain water from heavy rains in May and June. Says Ritzville Farmer John Wellsandt, whose wheat yield jumped from last year's 40 or 45 bu. an acre to as high as 78: "It acted as a kind of sealer."

Radioactivity proved to be minimal, as did the toxicity of the ash. At first public health officials feared that the silica content of the fallout could cause lung damage, and the number of pulmonary cases did increase for a time in some areas. But later tests showed that while the ash has a high silica content, only a small percentage of the particles are of the type that causes scarring of the lungs.

Local residents think that another bumper crop—of littering tourists in their Winnebagos and charter buses—may be a mixed blessing. At Drew's Grocery in Toutle, 40 km (25 miles) from the blast site, a 40-page guest register (the third since June) is filled with names from around the world: West Germany, Switzerland, Japan, France, Yugoslavia, Brazil, the Ivory Coast, Saudi Arabia. Says Clerk Shelley Cooper, 23: "We're not used to having all these tourists around. They're kind of rude, stopping their cars in the middle of the road. They pay no attention to signs that say 'Keep Out.'"

But not everyone has reason to complain, especially local entrepreneurs. Since June, Drew's has sold 1,800 T shirts with slogans like HELENS IS HOT at $6 apiece. "Genuine Mount St. Helens Volcanic Ash" goes for 50¢ to $1.98 a bag. Says Cooper: "We started sacking it, and it just cracks us up when people come in asking for it."

With a scoop, of course, anyone can get plenty of ash for nothing from Drew's parking lot or just about any other horizontal or sloping surface around. So much ash blankets the state that some natives have covered over the *w* on their automobile license plates to create ASHINGTON. The stuff is omnipresent. It clogs air filters on farm machinery, shorts out electrical equipment, seeps into auto carburetors. Fire fighters slip on five to ten inches of it as they battle the four or five blazes a day that ignite in the stumps and slash piles of the no man's land left by the blast. Says Bob Joens of the Forest Service: "It's like walking on marbles."

Aided by a special congressional appropriation of $218 million, the U.S. Corps of Engineers is busily dredging the Toutle, Cowlitz and Columbia rivers, all clogged with tons of mud. So far, the Corps has removed 10.2 million cu. yds. of silt from the Cowlitz alone. The goal is to restore the river's water flow from 3,500 cu. ft. per second now to 50,000 by Nov. 1.

All the while, scientists have been gathering data from the living laboratory of Mount St. Helens. Some 200 have been to the mountain, and hundreds of others

have applied for permits through a committee of scientists, mainly from the Northwest, who are screening applicants on behalf of the U.S. Geological Survey. The screening process is anything but tranquil as scientists from some 60 universities badger authorities for permission to enter the normally forbidden "red zone" around the foot of the mountain. Some of those denied access have accused the Forest Service and the U.S.G.S. of conspiring to corner data from the mountain, using bureaucratic red tape to keep out competing researchers. One regulation: each investigating team must have a radio operator, a function that is being performed by local hams. But now there are not enough to go around, and scientists must wait days to get one. Moans Portland State's Allen, head of the screening committee: "Dozens and dozens of scientists have been turned away, and we've lost invaluable information during the summer." The hassle has proved too much for Allen. He is stepping down from the committee next week.

Never in history has a volcano ex-

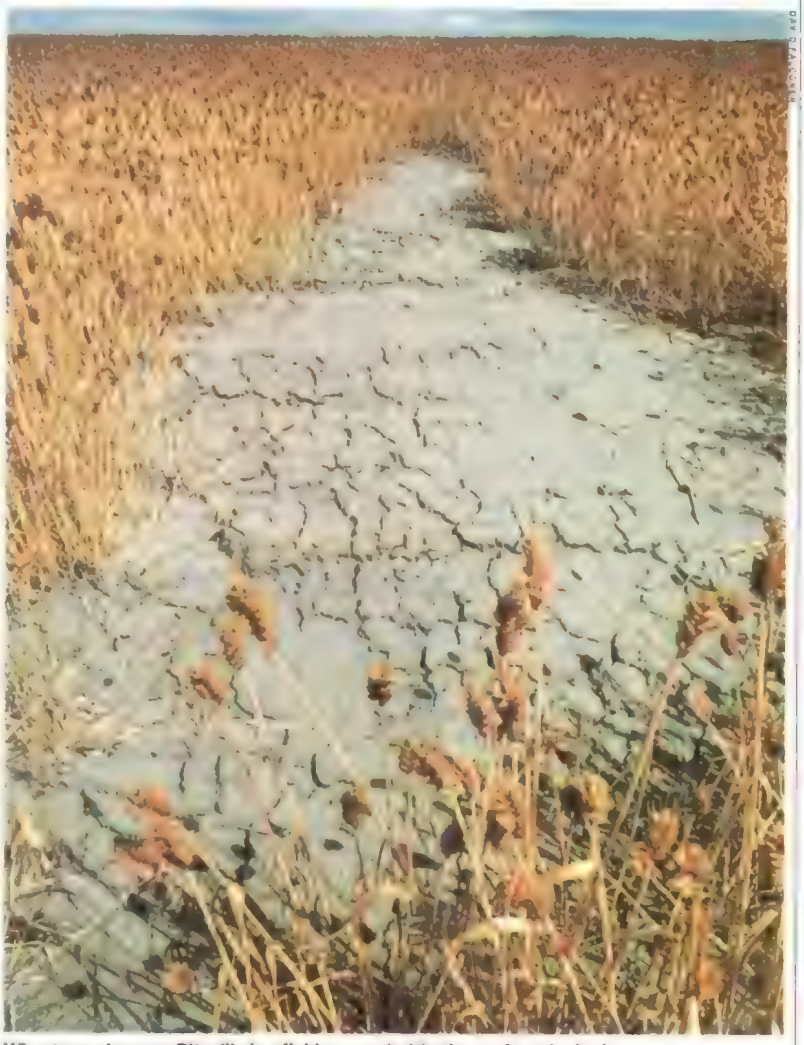
Budding ferns amid the debris

ploded with such force before such an array of sophisticated monitoring instruments. The gear even includes a space satellite to measure particulate matter blown into the stratosphere. Yet in spite of all the detection capability, scientists have come away from the mountain basically with confirmations of what they already knew—primarily from observing volcanoes in Hawaii—rather than with any new and startling insights. Says Donald Peterson, the U.S.G.S scientist in charge on the scene: "Everything the mountain has done has been within the realm of our expectations."

Well, not quite. The force of the blast and its timing surprised scientists. They are still not much closer to predicting when a volcano of the St. Helens type will blow; scientists have had much better luck with volcanoes in Hawaii. But the effort has hardly been a waste of time. Says U.S.G.S. Geologist Robert Christiansen: "It has taught us that volcanic hazards are real in the U.S." More probing will be done in November at a NASA conference about the atmospheric and climatic effects of Mount St. Helens, with a view to decoding whatever messages the volcano sent on that fateful May day when the earth opened and the forces of creation were furiously unleashed. *—By John S. DeMott. Reported by Paul A. Witteman/San Francisco and Jerry Hannifin/Washington*

Tourists watching Mount St. Helens fume

Dredging along the Cowlitz River



Wheat growing near Ritzville in a field covered with a layer of parched ash

In a forbidding, gray no man's land, incredibly, life returns.

Cocktail-hour opener in black crepe décolleté

Daytime sensible, evening sensual

Combat fatigues, fitting Rosie's figure

Teaching Old Togs New Tricks

They put limbs in limbo, but jumpsuits are dressier than ever

Amelia Earhart wore them while piloting her plane across the oceans. Rosie the Riveter donned them for her shift at a World War II defense plant. Generations of American children have learned to toddle in them. They have been a trendy, casual, adult costume for the past few years. Now, with acrobatic élan, jumpsuits have leaped from utilitarian to U, from convenient to chic. At pricey department stores and boutiques across the country, dressy jumpsuits are, well, jumping off the racks. They are even in vogue for evening wear. At this month's opening of the San Francisco Opera season, one of the nation's few remaining high-fashion occasions, several *soignée* ladies appeared in elegant jumps that attracted as much attention as the Yves St. Laurent gowns (one spectacular number was all black velvet, festooned with pearls). Brides have been jumpsuiting their way to the altar. Says San Francisco Manufacturer Doug Thomkins "Not every woman in town is wearing a jumpsuit. But every woman has one hanging in her closet."

The jumpsuit jamboree is powered by such top designers as Anne Klein, Calvin Klein, Halston, Ralph Lauren and Willi Smith. One of the fastest-selling lines, Reminiscence, is designed by Manhattan's award-winning Stewart Richer, 38, whose sporty suits in cotton and corduroy fetch from $60 to $72. "Boutiques are ordering them like they're $12 T shirts," says Richer. Jump buffs point out that they can be worn to the office with a turtleneck sweater and later accoutered for evening by removing the sweater, unzipping to the cleavage and adding jewelry. Like blue jeans, jumpsuits came to fashion from the wharves and workshops of America—and became modish in Europe. It was after a visit to Paris last spring that Kal Ruttenstein, a Bloomingdale's executive, saw how Parisians were snapping them up. "It's a lot of look at a relatively little price," says Ruttenstein. "It's for the young or young-thinking woman, the fashion or contemporary customer." Adds Manhattan's Norma Kamali, 34, one of the first of the major designers to dive into jumpsuits: "It's the reverse of putting an outfit together. It's not lots of pieces you have to coordinate. When you run out in the morning, you just jump into it."

Gala designer jumpsuits, selling for up to $1,000, bear as little relationship to Rosie's garb as the *QE2* to a Liberty ship. They come strapless or backless or off-the-shoulder; camisoled, ruffled and high-necked, or deeply décolleté. At stores like I. Magnin's in San Francisco and Chicago and Bloomingdale's in New York, which has eight departments (including one named In Flight) selling jumpsuitery, they come in soft, billowy silks and satins, polished cotton and gabardine, velvet and crepe de Chine in art deco prints. Head-turning hues include purple, burgundy, fuchsia, aubergine, white and that ol' black magic.

Frustrated male leg watchers complain that the jump ensemble puts limbs in limbo. On the other hand—discretion being the better part of glamour—the suits can be effective camouflage for the not-too-perfect figure. Says one West Coast jumper: "You don't have to be a 110-lb. size eight to look good." That holds true, evidently, on the ground or in the air. Last week, to kick off a fashion show, Man Oh Man, a Detroit specialty shop, dropped three jumpsuited parachutists into the Detroit River. —*By Michael Demarest*

White satin variation for the trendy modern bride

Costumes leaping from utilitarian to U

Shaping Up the Blurry Eye

A boom in operations to change corneal curvature

Useful as they may be, eyeglasses are widely perceived as a mixed blessing, clumsy, detracting from appearance, a sign of age. Contact lenses are not ideal either: often difficult to manage, uncomfortable to wear, easy to lose. Is there any other option? Some ophthalmologists now think there is. They say two common vision problems—near- and farsightedness (myopia and hyperopia)—can be corrected or eased with surgery that reshapes the cornea, the eye's outer covering.

Light enters the eye in parallel rays, which are gradually bent as they pass through the cornea and lens. In the normal eye, they converge, or focus, precisely on the retina at the back of the eyeball. Electrical impulses then transmit a sharp image to the brain. In the nearsighted, however, the eyeball is usually too long or the cornea too curved, so that the rays come to a focus in front of the retina. In the farsighted, the eyeball is too short or the cornea too flat and the light rays, if they could pass through it, would converge behind the retina.

One way to correct these conditions would be to change the curvature of the cornea so the images fall directly on the retina. The pioneer of surgery that accomplishes that optical feat is Ophthalmologist José Barraquer of Bogotá, Colombia, who for the past two decades has been performing a variety of delicate and complex corneal operations that he calls refractive keratoplasty (an operation on the cornea for optical reasons). In one procedure known as keratomileusis (cornea carving), the front of the cornea is sliced off with a high-speed vibrating blade, quickly frozen, and then reshaped on its underside by a lathe set by computer calculations. After thawing, the cornea slice is stitched back on the eye. To correct nearsightedness, the surgeon removes tissue from the center of the cornea, thereby flattening it. In farsighted patients, tissue is removed from the periphery to accentuate the curve. A similar operation, called keratophakia (cornea lens), is used to correct only farsightedness. After the front of the cornea is sliced off, a reshaped donor cornea (from an eye bank) is inserted in its place. The front of the original cornea is then sewn back on, resulting in a more sharply curved structure.

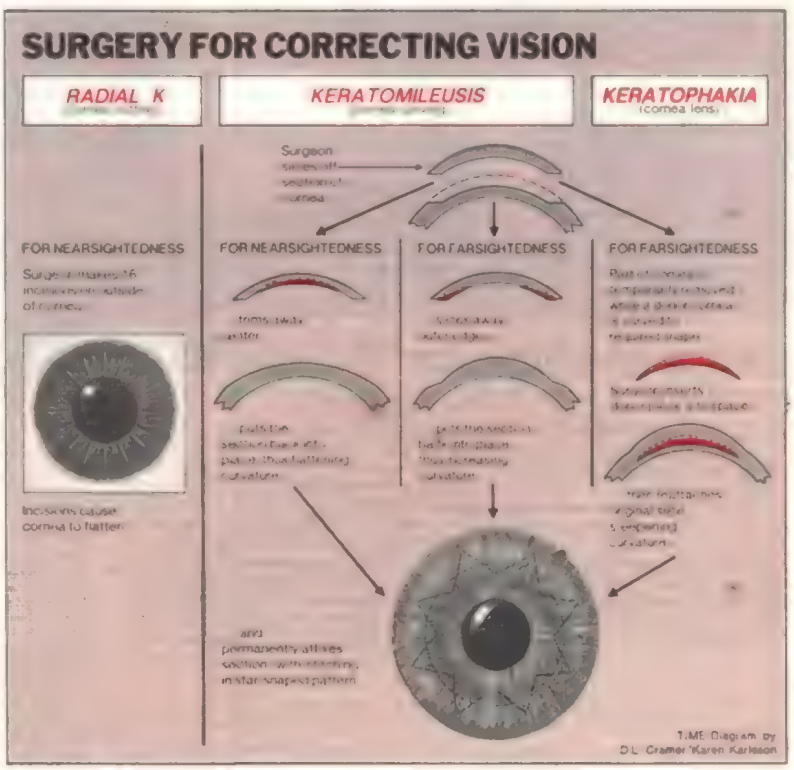
These operations take an hour, are done under general or local anesthesia and cost about $3,000. The patient wears an eyepatch for a day or so. After a month the stitches are removed with almost no scarring. In 15 years, Barraquer has done about 4,000 operations with apparently good results. Most people see without glasses almost as well as they did previously with glasses. But the operations are not for everyone. Dr. Casimir Swinger of Manhattan's Beth Israel Medical Center, one of those who has recently brought the procedures to the U.S., says that they should be used mainly for patients with severe refractive errors who cannot tolerate contact lenses. That group includes many who have had cataracts removed.

A still newer and more controversial corneal operation was developed by Soviet Ophthalmologist Svyatoslav Fyodorov. In 1973 he examined a nearsighted 16-year-old youth whose glasses had been smashed in a fight. The shards had cut the cornea of one eye. Three days later the boy could see perfectly out of the eye —without glasses. The injury had inadvertently flattened the cornea.

In the operation that was inspired by the accident, a procedure called radial keratotomy (a cut or slice into the cornea), the surgeon makes 16 or so incisions into the cornea. The cuts, varying in length and depth, extend from the outer edge of the cornea toward the center like spokes of a wheel. The internal eye pressure will stretch the nicked regions, thus flattening the center of the cornea.

Fyodorov and his colleagues have performed more than 2,000 "radial ks" with, they claim, most of the cases improving to at least 20/25 vision. So far, about 2,000 operations (average cost: $1,000) have been done in the U.S., but the procedure, which takes between 15 and 45 minutes and can be performed under local anesthesia, is so simple its popularity is increasing among doctors and patients alike. Some people, like pilots, policemen and firemen, are clamoring for the surgery to pass required visual tests. Others are seeking it for reasons of vanity.

Nonetheless, many ophthalmologists believe the enthusiasm is premature. Aside from Fyodorov's claims, which some Americans find suspect, there is little solid information on long-term benefits or problems. Though limited studies confirm that radial ks improve vision at least temporarily—although not to any great extent—many patients seem to be bothered by glare at night. Also, as much as half of the initial improvement vanishes within three months. Moreover, because the surgeon is cutting through almost nine-tenths of the cornea's thickness, there is the risk of perforation, an injury that could lead to blindness. Declaring that the operation is still experimental, an advisory body to the National Eye Institute has urged doctors to avoid this surgery until its results have been fully evaluated. *—By Anastasia Toufexis. Reported by Adrianne Jucius/New York*



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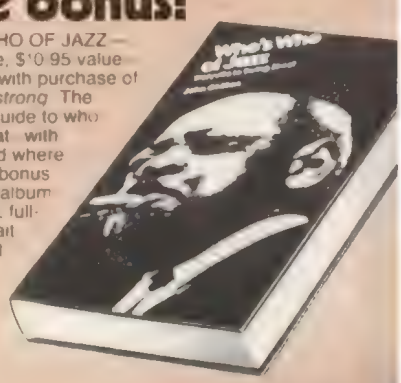

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COVER STORY

The Poisoning of America

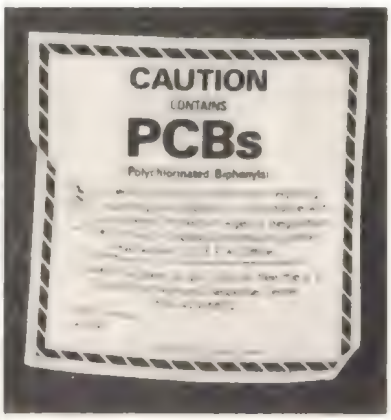
Belatedly, the campaign begins to control hazardous chemical wastes

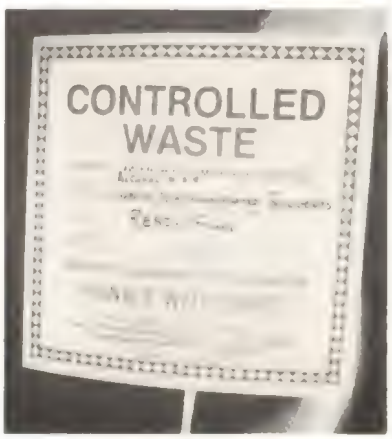
In the last 200 years, and with staggering acceleration in the last 25, the power, extent and depth of man's interventions in the natural order seem to presage a revolutionary new epoch in human history, perhaps the most revolutionary the mind can conceive. Men seem, on a planetary scale, to be substituting the controlled for the uncontrolled, the fabricated for the unworked, the planned for the random. And they are doing so with a speed and depth of intervention unknown in any previous age of human history

—Barbara Ward and René Dubos, *Only One Earth*

Of all of man's interventions in the natural order, none is accelerating quite so alarmingly as the creation of chemical compounds. Through their genius, modern alchemists brew as many as 1,000 new concoctions each year in the U.S. alone. At last count, nearly 50,000 chemicals were on the market. Many have been an undeniable boon to mankind, mitigating pain and disease, prolonging life for millions and expanding the economy in myriad ways by stimulating the creation of new products. There is, however, a price to pay for an industrial society that has come to rely so heavily on chemicals: almost 35,000 of those used in the U.S. are classified by the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as being either definitely or potentially hazardous to human health. Although cause-and-effect relationships between many chemicals and specific illnesses are still difficult to prove, the danger is clearly growing. Long concerned about the more familiar pollution problems of nuclear wastes, dirty air and befouled lakes and rivers, the nation has only belatedly begun to recognize the threat of chemical wastes poisoning America's earth and—more ominously—its underground reservoirs.

Last week, sounding the most authoritative warning yet, Julius Richmond, the Surgeon General of the U.S., declared that throughout the 1980s the nation will "confront a series of environmental emergencies" posed by toxic chemicals that "are adding to the disease burden in a significant, although as yet not precisely defined, way." Said the Surgeon General's report to the Senate: "The public health risk associated with toxic chemicals is increasing, and will continue to do so until we are successful in identifying chemicals which are highly toxic and controlling the introduction of these chemicals into our environment." His report was supported by a study of 32 major chemical-contamination incidents that was conducted by the Library of Congress. The library's survey said these cases "represent the tip of an iceberg of truly unknown dimensions" and concluded that toxic chemicals "are so long lasting and pervasive in the environment that virtually the entire population of the nation, and indeed the world, carries some body burden of one or several of them."





Experts may debate just how bad the problem is. Robert A. Roland, president of the Chemical Manufacturers Association, attacked the Surgeon General's report for exaggerating the threat of toxic wastes. But one thing is certain: the rapid accumulation of chemical-waste products poses one of the most complex and expensive environmental control and cleanup tasks in history. Says Douglas M. Costle, administrator of the EPA: "We didn't understand that every barrel stuck into the ground was a ticking time bomb, primed to go off." Predicts Dr. Irving Selikoff, director of the Environmental Sciences Laboratory of New York City's Mount Sinai Medical School: "Toxic waste will be the major environmental and public health problem facing the U.S. in the '80s." The EPA estimates that the U.S. is generating more than 77 billion lbs. of hazardous chemical wastes a year and that only 10% are being handled in a safe manner. At least half of the wastes, says Gary N. Dietrich, an EPA official, "are just being dumped indiscriminately."

There may be no greater threat than the steady rise in the number of wells found to be contaminated by chemicals. Fully 50% of all Americans depend on ground rather than surface water for their drinking supply. Water that may have fallen to earth as long as a century ago has percolated slowly down through soil and porous rock to collect in vast underground aquifers that were virtually void of chemical and bacteriological impurities. Now substances, mostly petrochemicals thought to have been harmlessly disposed of years ago, are beginning to show up even in the deeper U.S. wells. This contamination will grow as those forgotten chemicals of the past steadily reach more of the underground reservoirs from which Americans will drink in the future.

After two years of investigation, the New York Public Interest Research Group, Inc., a respected private organization, charges that 66 companies dump nearly 10 million gal. of contaminated waste water each day into eleven municipal sewerage systems on Long Island. Since none of these systems can treat toxic wastes, claims the report, the drinking

Removing chemicals from drums in Kentucky; cleaning site in Elizabeth, N.J., after fire; sampling contents of container near Hammond, Ind.

A vivid illustration of the problems facing many communities throughout the U.S.: thousands of drums containing toxic wastes are scattered across

water for some 3 million residents is "in danger of deteriorating into a severely contaminated industrial sewer."

In a lovely wooded area of New Jersey known as the Pine Barrens, more than 100 wells have been poisoned by chemicals leaching from the 135-acre Jackson Township dump. James McCarthy, who had drunk well water for ten years, had one kidney removed in 1977, and now has trouble with the other. Tara, his daughter, died in 1975 of a kidney cancer when she was nine months old. A 16-year-old neighbor lost a kidney to cancer; another neighbor is on dialysis for kidney problems; a third also has a kidney ailment. No scientific link has been established between the chemicals and the illnesses, but, McCarthy says, "you can't tell me that all our kidney problems and the poisons in our water aren't connected."

Water supplies in 22 Massachusetts towns have been contaminated by chemicals. In Michigan, inspectors have found 300 sites where wastes have polluted ground water. Residents of some 90 homes near Muskegon now use bottled water supplied by the county. The polluted water there, says Tom Spencer, a county health official, "looks just like bock beer. It even has a head on it."

Coal-tar residues have drained into an aquifer under the metropolitan area of Minneapolis and St. Paul. While the Twin Cities draw water from the Mississippi River, many of their suburbs depend on the threatened underground supply. Near Charles City, Iowa, some deep wells 30 to 40 miles downstream from a chemical dump have shown traces of contamination. At the waste heap, state analysts have found some 6 million lbs. of arsenic, as well as large quantities of other dangerous chemicals. Says Larry Crane, director of the Iowa department of environmental quality: "It's an organic chemists' cauldron."

Growing recognition of the menace of chemicals has produced a series of state laws that make the casual disposal of wastes a criminal offense. Under a 1979 New Jersey statute, for example, offenders can be fined up to $50,000 a day for every day they leave wastes unprotected and may get jail sentences of up to ten years. As a result of such new rules, careless dumping has been declining—until recently. The reason for the upsurge: a tough set of federal regulations that will go into effect on Nov. 19 requiring dangerous chemical wastes to be tracked "from cradle to grave"; each person or company receiving any chemical wastes on the list will have to account for what happens to them and will be held responsible if the substances are not properly handled. To beat the deadline, some companies have been taking chemical refuse they have stored on their property for months or even years and simply getting rid of the stuff as swiftly and as surreptitiously as they can, often dumping by night and running

One day a field in Illinois was empty; a week or so later, it contained 20,000 bbl. of dumped wastes. Kentucky state police staked out a site just outside Daniel Boone National Forest, where some 200 containers loaded with dangerous solvents had been discarded. They arrested three Ohio truck drivers. Hundreds of toxic drums were found on three sites near historic Plymouth, Mass. State troopers and other authorities set up roadblocks to stop illegal dumping operations in New Hampshire, which, like the other New England states, has no legal disposal site. Declared New Hampshire acting Attorney General Gregory Smith: "We know toxic waste is being hauled through the state. We have to find out where and when."

The upcoming federal regulations and new state laws will surely help, but what

Storing chemicals in Idaho missile silo

"You don't want them near you—nor do I."

a New Hampshire landscape. Some of the abandoned trailers are also filled with pollutants

haunts the EPA's Costle and other environmentalists is the scope of the problem. In 1941 the American petrochemical industry produced 1 billion lbs. of synthetic chemicals. By 1977 that rate had soared to 350 billion lbs.

In evolutionary terms, the rapidity and scale of this chemical creativity are frightening. Through the ages, most of the earth's varied organisms, from single cells to plants, animals and early humans, usually had ample time to adapt to the pace of natural change. They evolved protective mutations to meet the gradual shifts in the earth's vital balance between acids and alkalines, in the salinity of water, in levels of oxygen in the atmosphere. But man cannot patiently wait through the centuries for his body to develop a genetic defense against these chemicals if, indeed, such a defense is possible.

Not only is the pace quickening, there is also a basic difference in the quality of change that modern chemicals make in the air, earth and water. Petrochemists have assembled the molecules contained in coal, oil and gas in new ways, producing compounds that do not exist in a natural state. These compounds are essential to such products as pharmaceuticals, plastics, insulation, textiles and food additives. But unlike many natural chemicals, most petrochemicals do not decay rapidly under the assault of such natural forces as bacteria, sun, wind and water. That puny plastic bottle once full of household bleach may well outlast the mighty pyramids.

So far as is now known, bleach bottles pose no threat to health. But to an alarming degree, petrochemicals that are far less benign but just as durable have for years been discarded as casually as household garbage. Many bear mystifying names: trichloroethylene, tetrachloroethylene, dichloroethylene, dibromochloromethane, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs). These, and many more, are suspected of contributing to the rising incidence of cancer in the U.S. But experts in the field are quick to admit the difficulty of proving the harm caused by chemical wastes. Says Mount Sinai's Selikoff: "When it comes to chemicals and illness, it's hard to prove cause and effect, though we certainly have our suspicions."

The most sinister side of the chemical-waste threat may be the very uncertainty of its ultimate impact. Adding to the dilemma is the fact that past disposal practices have been so haphazard that no one knows just how much chemical garbage must be cleared up—or even where it is. The producers, the users and the ultimate disposers of the chemicals have not been required to keep records on what they did with waste material. Most companies stack it in barrels on back lots. Some pay haulers to cart it to reprocessing plants, high-temperature incinerators or landfills where thick clay linings prevent chemicals from leaching into the earth.

But all too many waste handlers have merely tossed the refuse into leaky burial pits, or carted it off to municipal dumps to mix with household garbage, or paid farmers small fees to let them hide 55-gal. drums on unused land, often by dark of night. Some haulers have pumped liquid wastes into tank trucks and driven down rural roads with the pet cocks open, releasing the chemicals into ditches. Some of the companies that paid middlemen or haulers to get rid of the refuse asked no questions about—and did not want to know—where the chemicals went.

As a result, the poisons have turned up in surprising places. Not far from home plate at New York City's Shea Stadium, a festering pond containing PCB, toluene, benzene and DDT turns red, blue or green as the mixture of the waste changes. The mess is so flammable that the pool has caught fire twice in the past year. In the marshes around New Jersey's Meadowlands sports complex, home of the pro football Giants, some 200 tons of mercury residues have contaminated Berry's Creek, causing Selikoff to declare, "On a bad day, breathing in the Meadowlands may be as dangerous as driving at Indianapolis." The abandoned shafts and tunnels in the hills above Pennsylvania's Susquehanna River lure illegal chemical dumpers. So much poison has been poured for so long into one deep hole near Pittston that Republican Senator John Heinz insists, "This is more dangerous than

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Three Mile Island because we don't really know what's down there." Six New Jersey men, including Russell Mahler, president of Hudson Oil Refining Corp., have been indicted in Pennsylvania on charges of illegally tossing chemicals into the shaft, thereby polluting the river.

No accurate count of all the toxic-waste dumps is possible. Many reveal themselves only when a flash flood or gradual erosion exposes rusting and cracking drums. Searching for clandestine sites, some 100 EPA agents are tracking down reports of midnight dumping, or seeking out acrid odors permeating wooded acres or strange colors staining rivers and streams. So far, the EPA estimates that there are some 50,000 sites where chemicals have been dumped. The EPA believes that 2,000 of these dumps may pose serious health hazards.

The public got an inkling of the seriousness of the problem last year with the revelation of the horror that had occurred in New York's Love Canal. Contamination from a landfill laced with chemicals seeped into the area on the outskirts of Niagara Falls. A total of 1,200 houses and a school had been built near the site. Alarmed by studies of damage to the residents' health, the Federal Government finally paid for the temporary evacuation of families. At present, 710 families have been declared eligible to move, and about half have left the area. Researchers are continuing to probe the residents' high incidence of cancer, birth defects and respiratory and neurological problems.

The Love Canal story emerged gradually, but three events this year in the New York City region demonstrated suddenly and spectacularly just how heedlessly the chemical compounds have been stored. In April, residents of Elizabeth, N.J., and nearby Staten Island, N.Y., were jolted by explosions from a dump containing at least 50,000 chemical-filled barrels. The blasts rattled windows in Manhattan skyscrapers ten miles away. On July 4, an industrial-paint-manufacturing company that stored chemical wastes in its backyard flamed into a four-alarm blaze that spread toxic fumes over the city of Carlstadt, N.J. Three days later, storage drums at a chemical disposal plant in Perth Amboy, N.J., erupted in a barrage of explosions and a roaring fire that wiped out seven buildings and 16 businesses in an industrial park. Nearby residences were evacuated for several hours because no one knew how toxic the spreading smoke might be.

After the Love Canal and New Jersey headlines, an ABC News–Harris poll found that 76% of those surveyed consider the dumping of toxic chemicals "a very serious problem," and despite a growing antagonism toward Government

The Toxicity Connection

During the Viet Nam War, Air Force planes sprayed the dioxin-laced defoliant Agent Orange on dense jungles to strip the ground of cover. American soldiers got sprayed too, and now thousands of veterans are sure that the exposure has caused them skin rashes, neurological disorders, cancer and birth defects in their offspring. Residents of the Love Canal area of Niagara Falls, N.Y., are no less distressed. They are convinced that the toxic wastes buried there have led to nerve damage, miscarriages and other ailments, including mental retardation among their children. Says Housewife Cynthia Bassett: "It's as if we're all mutants."

If contemporary toxicologists were to conjure up a cause-and-effect grammar for lethal chemicals, asbestos would stand for lung cancer, benzene for leukemia, Kepone for sterility, vinyl chloride for cancer of the liver. The links between these chemicals and certain ailments are now clearly limned, in medical circles as well as in popular mythology. But the connections with diseases for other substances are merely suspicions and likely to remain so for a long time.

The dismaying fact is that while toxic chemicals unquestionably affect human health, there is usually no way of knowing who will become ill in any given population or what ailments will be caused by the exposure. Scientists might be able to find out by giving selected people precise amounts of chemicals for specific lengths of time and comparing these human guinea pigs with a control group that has not been exposed. But such experiments would raise proper howls of indignation. So the disease detectives must rely on less direct methods.

One alternative approach is to expose laboratory animals or even individual cells to chemicals. Often such experiments will produce unwelcome changes—say, mutations in bacteria or bladder cancer in rats (as was the case with the animals fed huge amounts of saccharin). But what causes problems in one species may not be dangerous to another. In Michigan, researchers found that cows that licked barn wood treated with the preservative pentachlorophenol were starving to death. It turned out, explains Jerry Hook of Michigan State University's new Center for Environmental Toxicology, that "this substance is toxic to the bacteria in the cow rumen." Such toxicity did not show up in tests with rats.

Selikoff: seeking the link

Another strategy is to study groups of people who have been exposed to specific chemicals, either on the job or in accidents. By this means, scientists have established some cause-and-effect links—for example, between prolonged inhalation of asbestos particles and mesothelioma (cancer of the lining of the chest or abdomen). But often the results of such epidemiological studies are not entirely convincing. The problem: scientists must trace effect back to probable cause rather than identifying cause and looking for effects. Says Dr. Irving Selikoff, of Manhattan's Mount Sinai Medical Center, who established the asbestos-cancer connection: "You're always working backward in this field."

Researchers are also confronted with the task of isolating the factors that might have contributed to an illness. The chemical dioxin can produce the skin condition chloracne, but allergies and plants produce conditions with similar symptoms. Benzene can cause leukemia, but so does radiation. Many diseases take a long time to show up. Workers exposed to vinyl chloride at a B.F. Goodrich plant in Louisville did not develop angiosarcoma, a rare form of liver cancer, until 15 to 20 years later. Says Selikoff: "There is no classic set of symptoms for chemical diseases."

Still another difficulty is that chemicals may behave totally unpredictably. Some act synergistically—one enhancing the toxicity of another. By contrast, others interfere with one another. Michigan researchers have found that both polybrominated biphenyls (PCBs) and dioxin seem to prevent kidney damage from chloroform, but they are hardly beneficial. Another problem for the researcher: determining the level, or threshold, at which a chemical will begin to do its damage.

Faced with all these uncertainties, scientists are understandably cautious. Says Hook: "We know that ingesting these things is probably not good for you. At the same time we should not go shooting our mouths off and scare everyone." Still, few scientists would disagree with Selikoff when he urges an immediate cleanup of the chemical mess. Says Selikoff: "We're fouling our own nest, and we can't survive if we continue."

regulation, 93.6% wanted "federal standards prohibiting such dumping made much more strict than they are now." Is the public unduly alarmed? Federal officials charged with enforcing the long-inadequate laws against unsafe disposal practices do not think so. Declares Dale Bryson, an EPA deputy chief in the Midwest: "Every time we go into these cases, we find it's worse than we thought." Some Dantesque examples

ELIZABETH, N.J.

On a small peninsula between New Jersey and Staten Island, the charred remains of what had been a collection of about 50,000 drums, some stacked four high, adjoin a brick-and-steel building once owned by the now bankrupt Chemical Control Corp. The containers had been left to rot for nearly a decade. Many of the drums had never been properly labeled; others were so seared by the explosive fire in April that neither the manufacturer nor the nature of the chemicals they contain can be determined from outside markings. Some barrels are leaking unidentified chemicals into the ground. Unknown wastes seep into an adjacent stream called the Arthur Kill and eventually ooze into the Hudson River. A huge tank holds a fluid laced with 4,000 parts per million of PCB, a chemical that has been linked to birth defects and nervous disorders. Explains George Weiss, coordinator of the cleanup from New Jersey's department of environmental protection: "No one knows what to do with that. No one even knows if we can touch it."

Wearing a respirator and a suit like an astronaut's to seal out fumes, the operator of a front-loader cautiously picks up one drum at a time. He is well aware of the fate of a bulldozer driver who hit a container of flammable phosphorus at a landfill in nearby Edison, N.J.: the man was incinerated so quickly that he died with his hand on his gearshift. State officials have identified a horrific arsenal of chemicals at the site, including two containers of nitroglycerine; two canisters of a chemical similar in effect to mustard gas; barrels full of biological agents; cylinders of phosgene and pyrophoric gases, which are so volatile they ignite when exposed to air; wastes contaminated by lead, mercury and arsenic; plus a variety of solvents, pesticides, plasticizers, including dangerous vinyl chloride and even picric acid, which has more explosive power than TNT.

Toxic wastes are trucked to New Jersey's single licensed toxic-waste incinerator in Logan Township, where the chemicals are burned at more than 5000° F. After months of work, an 80-man crew has removed all but 700 drums from the site. Once the barrels are all gone, metal detectors and aerial photography will be used to uncover evidence of any additional buried wastes. The contaminated topsoil must be hauled away. Probing for possible poisoning of the underlying water will come later.

How was the mess created? Chemical Control Corp. had signed contracts with some of the state's chemical companies and factories to dispose of their wastes. The company was supposed to solidify nontoxic materials for safe burial in landfills and detoxify the poisonous chemicals for similar disposal. Instead, the corporation just stacked the drums out back. Reacting to the fears of Elizabeth residents, state officials seized the site in March 1978 and began the slow cleanup. The companies, whose barrels were clearly labeled, included the 3M Co. and Union Carbide; the firms had no legal obligation to retrieve their drums but promptly did so when notified by the state.

New Hampshire state police stopping truckers to check for illegal loads of toxic wastes

"We didn't understand that every barrel stuck into the ground was a ticking time bomb."

"We don't have any choice about cleaning this place up," says Jerry English, a lawyer who heads New Jersey's department of environmental protection. "We simply cannot allow a situation like this to continue." Wearing a white vinyl coverall over her fashionable suit, yellow plastic bootees over her high-heeled shoes, a respirator and protective gloves, English recently climbed on a rooftop and looked out over the sea of barrels. She broke into a wry laugh, grandly swept an arm toward the rubble and declared, "Some day, my son, this will all be yours."

SEYMOUR, IND.

A neat stone wall graces the entrance to Freeman Field Industrial Park in the otherwise rustic small town of Seymour (pop. 13,100), about 70 miles southeast of Indianapolis. But in the park, there is a dry, mud-caked ditch, and the trees along its banks are dead. Inside a wire fence, an acrid scent brings tears to visitors' eyes. Some of the tidily stacked barrels bear household names: General Electric, Dow Chemical, Shell Oil, Monsanto. Paint sludges collect in sticky red and green pools on the porous ground, and such chemicals as arsenic, benzene, toluene, trichloroethylene and naphthalene ooze from rusty barrels. Near by, two former dairy trucks, one still bearing the faded invitation DRINK REFRESHING MILK, contain dangerous chemical wastes.

Over a period of twelve years, some 60,000 drums of waste were heaped on this site by Seymour Recycling Corp., which, like Chemical Control Corp., contracted with its corporate clients to get rid of their wastes safely. After the company failed to comply with a state order to dispose of the chemicals, a court appointed a custodian, William Vance, an easygoing small-town lawyer and president of the Jackson County Bar Association. He inherited the mess in February. Says he: "Like most of the citizenry, I wasn't that concerned before—but I am now."

In March, hydrogen gas began rising from a shed on the property where 25 badly corroded drums of chlorosilane had been stored next to 100 bbl. of flammable solvents. Rain soaking the chlorosilane created a smoky chemical reaction. Fear of an explosion caused city officials to order the area vacated for several hours. Says Vance: "We had a 13-acre keg of dynamite." Firemen rushed to separate the drums. Now, Vance frets, "every time we have a thunderstorm I think, 'My God, don't let lightning hit out there!'"

Vance is even more concerned about the future. He fears that the ground water beneath the sandy soil has been polluted and this will show up later in wells. "It's a perfect setup," he says. "We think what they did with some of the chemicals was just pour 'em out on the ground. Glub, glub, glub." When state and local officials failed to get results, the federal EPA declared a water emergency and took over the cleanup chore. So far, it has spent

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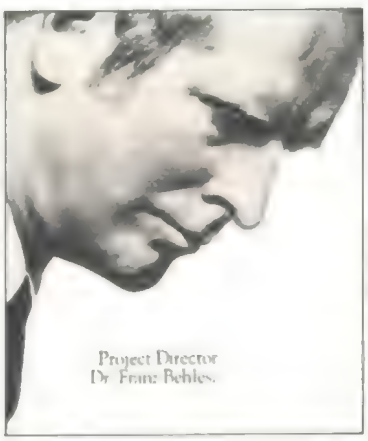

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nearly $1 million and estimates that complete removal of all hazardous wastes at the site could cost more than $12 million. "They couldn't have located that dump in a worse place," says Roland Kasting, a farmer who lives near by. "There's a vast underground reservoir right underneath us. There have to be laws on this chemical waste. It's going to get worse and worse —it's going to be everywhere."

MONTAGUE, MICH.

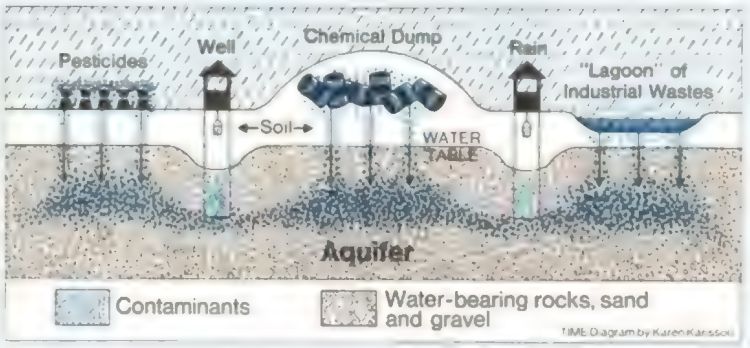
It took years of local agitation and a lawsuit filed by the State of Michigan, but something now is being done by Hooker Chemical Corp. (which also left contamination at Love Canal) to help dispose of some 1.2 million cu. yds. of chemical waste, drums and contaminated soil on its 880 acres of property on the edge of Montague. The cleanup may be too late to satisfy many residents in the community, a small town (pop. 2,396) of gracious, shaded houses along the shores of White Lake. State water officials estimate that some 20 billion gal. of ground water have been laced with deadly chemical wastes in an underground flow of contamination that is half a mile wide and more than a mile long. Moreover, each heavy rainfall propels some 800 lbs. of chemical residues daily into the lake, which, in turn, drains into Lake Michigan.

Children used to play in the dump behind the Hooker plant, where rusting drums sometimes leaked a tarry substance as sticky as soft asphalt. The site still contains at least 100 different compounds, many produced by spontaneous reactions among the discarded chemicals. They include hexachlorocyclopentadiene, more conveniently known as C-56. Toxicologists have found a C-56 derivative in the flesh of White Lake fish.

As a result of a lawsuit filed by the state, Hooker agreed to build a huge vault to contain its wastes. It has dug a hole 18 ft. deep and 300 yds. long. The bottom and sides of the excavation were formed of coarse beach sand, which would have allowed chemicals to filter down to the aquifer lying 80 ft. or less below the surface. Therefore, Hooker is lining the vault with 10-ft.-thick walls of compacted clay. The vault will rise five stories into the air. "A monument to stupidity," snorts Marion Dawson, a leader in the long fight to force Hooker to clean up its act.

Hooker officials do not deny their mistakes, though they rightly point out that they were made before the hazards were fully understood. The company is spending some $15 million to correct the problems, including sinking a series of "purge" wells designed to draw water from the aquifer, decontaminate it and pipe it back into the ground. Hooker has also built a $100,000 pipeline to carry uncontaminated city water to houses on Blueberry Ridge, where wells are threatened. In addition, the company is paying the monthly water bills of these residents.

Says Ken Hall, the Hooker official



Deep Concern: Ground Water

At the very top of the environmental scientists' list of concerns about pollution damage is something that most Americans probably believe to be safely beyond the reach of contamination: ground water. This is water that lies buried from a few feet to a half mile or more beneath the land's surface in stretches of permeable rock, sand and gravel known as aquifers. In the U.S. there is five times as much water in such subterranean reservoirs as flows through all its surface lakes, streams and rivers in a year. While most ground water is believed to remain pure, concern is rising because it is one of nature's greatest nonrenewable resources. Unlike surface water or the air, ground water is all but impossible to purify once it has become chemically polluted.

Ground water is not exposed to the natural purification systems that recycle and cleanse surface water; there is no sunlight, for example, to evaporate it and thereby remove salts and other minerals and chemicals. Nor can ground water be counted upon to clean itself as it moves through the earth, for it scarcely "flows" at all. Says Eckardt C. Beck, the EPA's assistant administrator for water and waste management: "Ground water can take a human lifetime just to traverse a mile. Once it becomes polluted, the contamination can last for decades."

In the past, ground water was kept pure because the soil at the earth's surface could be counted on to act as a filtration system, a kind of geological "kidney" that would scrub out bacteria and other insoluble contaminants placed on or in the ground before they could seep down to the water table, the ground water's upper limit. But this filtration system does not reliably screen out the waste chemicals that now leach into the soil from a variety of sources, including cropland that has been sprayed with pesticides, and industrial dumps like the pools into which liquid chemicals are placed so that the water they contain will evaporate.

The EPA has located 181,000 such "lagoons" at industrial and municipal waste disposal sites around the country. In a study of 8,200 of them, the agency found that 72% were just holes in the ground, not lined with concrete or other materials to prevent the chemicals from leaching into the soil; 700 of these unlined lagoons were within a mile of wells tapping ground water.

Bacterial wastes, such as the effluent from the nation's estimated 16.6 million residential septic tanks and cesspools, can be filtered fairly simply out of drinking water. But chemical contaminants are another matter. Says EPA Administrator Douglas Costle: "We are not even sure if, not to mention how, chemical contaminants can be removed. It takes sophisticated testing just to determine if there are chemicals present at all."

EPA Official Douglas Costle

The most serious cases of ground-water pollution confirmed so far have been in the Northeast states, where the problem is largely the result of surface dumping of industrial wastes, and in California from agricultural chemicals. But awareness of the vulnerability of ground water is still so new that EPA officials do not really know how far the fouling of the aquifers has spread. Says Costle: "We cannot even begin to say how much of our drinking water, actual or potential, may have been contaminated. We are going to be doing a lot of detective work."

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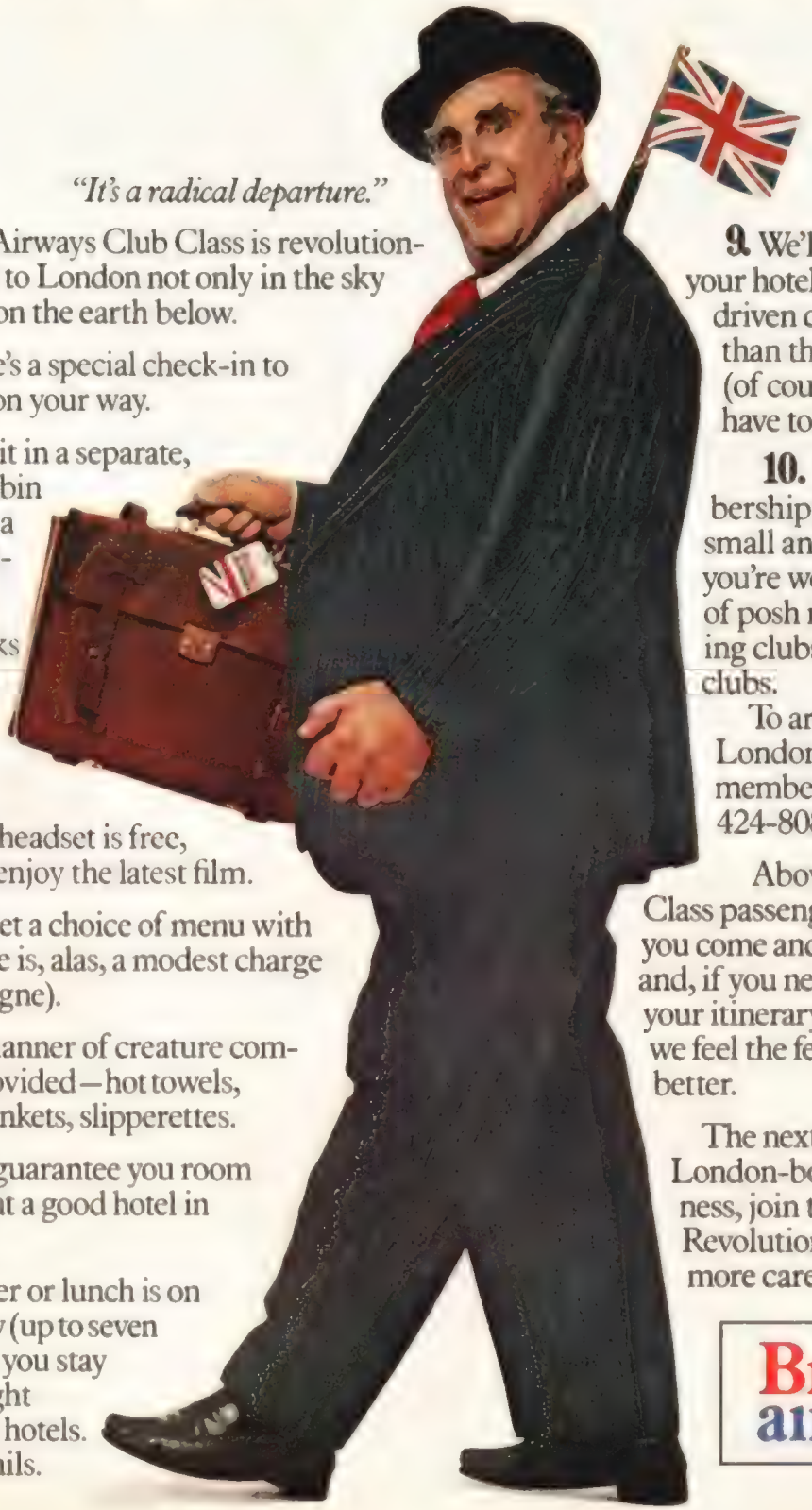

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handling the cleanup: "You have to be careful about judging the 1950s by 1980s standards. I grew up thinking that if you put something in the ground it was safe. But that thinking was in error. If you don't do something about it now, you'll have an eternal problem." Indeed, much of the unsafe dumping occurred before the companies had a firm idea of how serious the waste problem was, and many disposed of material in ways they thought were safe at the time.

The chemical industry generally approves the new federal regulations that will require the tracking of all toxic chemicals to the point of final disposal. Violators can be fined up to $25,000 a day and jailed for a year for a first offense. Says Robert A. Roland, president of the Chemical Manufacturers Association: "We don't want irresponsible disposal. This is a perfectly reasonable thing for the Federal Government to do."

The industry is more worried about the EPA's new rules requiring that only sites meeting federal standards be used. The companies are fearful that EPA standards will be so strict that an insufficient number of sites will be created. If that happens, predicts Roland, "companies will have two choices: they will either have nowhere to dump and they will close down, or they will go out and break the law." Conceding that "the EPA is between a rock and a hard place, with an enormous task to confront," Roland contends that the agency too often acts on the basis of insufficient information. The industry, for example, insists that the EPA has not carefully evaluated the hazards of various chemicals and that its regulations are needlessly complex and burdensome. Up to a point, the EPA's Costle agrees. "I know that things aren't perfect with us," he says. "But just imagine how they would be without us."

On its own, the chemical industry has set up a hazardous-waste response center in Washington, where state and local officials who are worried about an abandoned disposal site can get expert advice about how serious the threat may be and how the dump could be cleaned up. The industry has also written a model waste-disposal-siting law for the guidance of state legislatures.

Irving S. Shapiro, chairman of Du Pont, reports that his company is recycling waste material to reduce the disposal problem and keeps a watchful eye on the contractors it uses for disposal. The most critical problem, as he sees it, is to clean up widely scattered "orphan waste sites" that no one has supervised. Says he: "Let's start with today, not worry about who did what in the past. Government and industry should work together rather than get emotional. We've got to get going rather than sitting around trying to figure out who's wearing the black hat and who's wearing the white hat."

Right now there are enough safe disposal facilities in the U.S., including incinerators and detoxification plants, to handle the toxic wastes, if the companies would go to the trouble and expense of using them. But as federal regulations governing the dumps become more stringent, and as the volume of wastes increases, the nation will need additional sites. Where to put them? "Everybody is in favor of safe disposal," says Costle. "They say, sure, let's have a safe landfill, but not in my town." Howard Tanner, chief of Michigan's Department of Natural Resources, goes even further. "We have technical solutions for these wastes," he says, "but we don't have social solutions. You don't want them anywhere near where you live—nor do I."

Looking for new waste sites, a private company has purchased obsolete Titan I missile silos in an Idaho desert. Near Grandview, three 160-ft.-deep holes, lined with 6-ft.-thick concrete walls and 13-ft.-thick concrete floors, are each being used to store some 1.5 million cu. ft. of wastes. Several European companies are using incinerator ships to burn chemical wastes at sea. Costle feels that U.S. private industry, rather than Government, should devise safe disposal techniques. Says he: "It's smarter and can do the job more efficiently than the Government."

If the future remains a problem, so does the past. The immense task of cleaning up the accumulated wastes still remains. A bill is slowly working its way through Congress to create a "superfund" to be used by the EPA to neutralize hazardous waste spills and dumps as they occur or are discovered. The legislation, now in various forms, could create a fund of up to $4 billion in the next six years. But there are bitter fights under way over just how to split the costs between the general taxpayer and the various industries that generate the wastes. The Carter Administration expects a compromise will be reached on the bill this year, possibly before Congress recesses for the November election. Even if passed, this act would be only a start. The EPA estimates the eventual cost of a national cleanup would be as much as $22 billion.

Insists Costle: "We can't afford not to clean up. All we'd be doing would be pushing the cost over to the next generation." He notes that when the Life Science Products Co., a chemical plant in Hopewell, Va., was found to be contaminating the James River with Kepone in 1975, the source of pollution could have been cleaned up at a cost of $250,000. The company delayed and since has paid out $13 million in damage claims. Now, experts estimate, it will cost at least $2 billion to purify the river. Contends Costle: "In a misguided sense of thrift, we can save ourselves broke."

A pollution device at Love Canal monitoring the air for contaminants near boarded-up houses

A high incidence of cancer, birth defects and respiratory and neurological problems.

Some officials charged with protecting water supplies fear that much of the chemical damage already done to underground reservoirs is irreparable. Says New Jersey's English: "What's in the ground is there. It's too late to do anything about it." Perhaps so. Yet the growing public concern, the increasingly cooperative attitude of the chemical industry and the toughening resolve of federal and state governments reflect a new willingness of the nation to grapple with one of modern technology's least understood and potentially most insidious threats to health.

The circle must be made complete. The society that created the plethora of new chemicals that so enhanced human life must now use its scientific genius to make sure that those creations work safely for mankind. *—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Peter Stoler/New York and J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago*

Saturday shoppers cruise the aisles for bargains at Samson's Food Warehouse in Fairfield, N.J., then stand three deep at 15 check-out lines

Food Prices Take Off Again

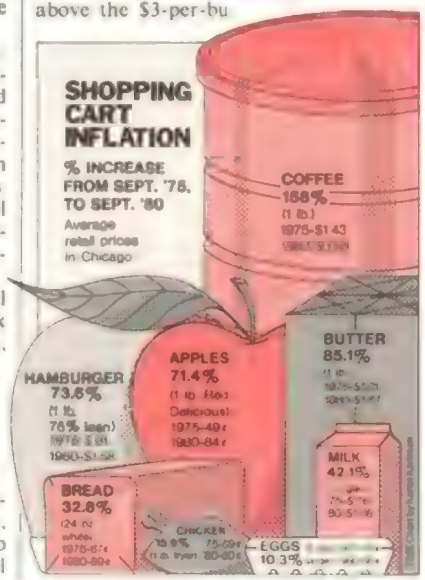
The summer drought leaves grocery bills soaring and consumers moaning

Last spring, when the Consumer Price Index was leaping from peak to peak like a bee-stung mountain goat, economists, among others, looked to food prices for a little consolation. People at check-out counters may find it hard to believe, but the cost of food was then going up more slowly than the Consumer Price Index. In the first half of the year, when inflation briefly topped 18%, food prices grew at an annual rate of only 7%.

It was too good to last, and it did not. In July the tab at the supermarket check-out counter rose 1.6%, and wholesale food prices in August shot up 4.4%, the highest monthly jump in seven years. Moreover, prices are expected to keep right on going up for at least the next six months. Says Rodney Kite, director of agricultural forecasting at Evans Economics in Washington: "Food will be in the forefront of inflation the rest of this year. By December a pound of hamburger or chicken will cost 15% more than it did in June. Pork chops will be 20% higher." Otto Eckstein, president of Data Resources Inc., an economic-forecasting firm, says that by next spring prices of farm products will be up 24% from last spring.

The explosion in food prices is caused primarily by the summer's drought in the South and parts of the Midwest. In many sections of the country, the average temperatures ranged six to eight degrees above normal, and rainfall was less than half the usual amount. Says Agriculture Department Economist J. Dawson Ahalt: "If you're a farmer in Arkansas or eastern Nebraska, this drought has knocked hell out of you, really cut your yields by half in some instances."

This year's autumn corn harvest is down 16% from 1979's large crop, and the lower yield has already pushed prices above the $3-per-bu. level, *vs.* $2.45 for the same period last year. Ranchers, also suffering from the drought and fearing a hike in the price of their prime feedstuff, sent more of their cattle to slaughter earlier in the summer in order to save on feeding them. Initially, this depressed beef prices, but the long-term effect will be to deplete the herds, reduce supply and make meat more expensive later. The production of soybeans, another animal fodder, is off 19% this year, although prices paid to the farmer have jumped 24%; this will mean higher prices for beef, as well as for salad and cooking oils. The heat also killed 5.3 million chickens. Wheat is the one bit of good news on the farm. This year's harvest is expected to be 10% above last year's, at 2.4 billion bu.



Irate shoppers are balking more strongly than before at the high prices and seeking out money-saving shortcuts. Sales of so-called generic products, which come in plain packages and often cost 25% or so less than national brand products, continue to boom. Within the past six months the Star Market Co., based in Cambridge, Mass., claims to have introduced unbranded products to the U.S., has had a 10% increase in sales on 85 of them. Its parent, Chicago's Jewel Companies Inc., now has 170 such items in its stores, and the company claims that almost all customers buy some of them. Favorites: paper products and dog food. Savings can be substantial. A 32-oz. bottle of no-brand

ketchup normally costs 89¢, as compared with about $1.30 for nationally advertised brands. Doris Brown, a Chicago housewife with two children, says, "Whenever I can, I buy generic items—bathroom tissue and soda for the kids."

Other consumers are turning to no-frills food warehouses, where BYOB means Bring Your Own Bags. Safeway's Canoga Park store in Los Angeles until June 1980 was a struggling supermarket, but now it has become a popular food barn. There are no sweepstakes or eye-catching displays to attract customers. The store, moreover, charges 25¢ if people pay for groceries with a check, and grocery bags cost 3¢ each. Large yellow arrows on the aisle floors direct customers to Maxwell House coffee at $2.99 per lb., ground beef at $1.29 per lb. and a 5-lb. box of Tide at $2.58. All are substantially cheaper than at competing markets. On nights and weekends, when the store is most crowded, the atmosphere is akin to the running of the bulls down the streets of Pamplona. Bobbi Rice, 31, drives four miles to shop at the Safeway Food Barn, although two other supermarkets are nearer to her home. Says she: "We eat a lot of produce, and that is quite a bit less expensive here. Lettuce and tomatoes, for instance, are about 50% less than at other stores."

The Giant Food chain in the Washington area last week opened its first warehouse store in Clinton, Md. The prices are low, but the atmosphere is somber. The new warehouse carries less than half as many items as the chain's regular stores, and goods are put out on shelves while still in their shipping cartons. Individual items no longer carry the cost stamped on the top; prices are carried in the striped code that is read at the computerized check-outs. As a result, operating expenses are low, permitting the store to keep down its prices.

Retail-sales analysts predict that the spartan stores will continue expanding, as consumers look for new ways to beat inflation. Says Walter Loeb, food and retail analyst with New York's Morgan Stanley: "We have seen waves of warehouse stores before. A & P unsuccessfully tried it a few years ago. But now they are doing better and selling fresh produce, some dairy products and meat."

Some consumers grumble that the food warehouses are inconveniently located and the quality of produce is low. Others complain that products available on one shopping day will not be there the next time. But many customers say that their savings compensate for such minor irritants as longer lines at check-out counters and finding the goods still in their shipping cartons. Says Eleanor Conforti, a Western Electric employee in New Jersey: "I don't object to buying from boxes. What's the difference—food is food." And increasingly, that food is very expensive. *—By Julie Connelly. Reported by William Blaylock/Washington and Sue Raffety/New York*

General Motors Changes Drivers

New leaders as the auto giant faces troubled times

Auto industry observers scrutinize executive promotions at General Motors the way that Kremlinologists study the lineup of Soviet leaders at the annual May Day parade. This year the stakes were especially high. With Chairman Thomas A. Murphy and President E.M. Estes both nearing their 65th birthdays and required to retire in December and January, the firm's two top jobs would be opening up for the first time in six years. The giant automaker last week cut short the executive-suite guessing game. It announced that Roger Bonham Smith, 55, will replace Murphy as chairman of the board and chief executive officer; Francis James McDonald, 58, will succeed Estes as the company's operating boss. The two men were long regarded as the leading candidates.

GM's new men at the wheel have a combined company experience totaling 71 years. Thus no sudden policy shifts are expected. Short, red-haired and informal, Smith is a contrast to the tall, austere Murphy. Both men, though, are off the same GM management assembly line. Like Murphy, Smith moved steadily up through the company's financial ranks, traditionally the test track for future chairmen. He became an executive vice president and began running GM's financial operations in 1974.

Jim McDonald, the next president, is a manufacturing specialist, which is a sensitive area in Detroit these days. Japanese auto executives on a shopping trip for U.S.-made auto parts last week warned that Americans should not expect any great increase in overseas sales until they improve the quality of their cars. That has been McDonald's concern throughout his career. For the past six years he has headed GM's most important division, its North American car and truck operations. In winning the presidency, McDonald nosed out another executive vice president, Howard Kehrl, 57, who takes over the vacant post of vice chairman.

If Smith serves out his full ten years until retirement, he will have held GM's top job longer than any other man with the exception of the legendary Alfred P. Sloan, who ran the company from 1937 until 1956. Smith faces an especially difficult tenure. Although GM had sales of $66 billion last year and produces two out of every three cars coming off U.S. assembly lines—nearly three times as many as second-place Ford—the company's profits as a percentage of sales have ebbed steadily over the past decade. Wall Street analysts predict that this year the giant firm could lose up to $800 million. Smith's main job will be to restore GM's profits on sales of small cars back to the levels it once enjoyed on bigger models.

That goal, however, could run into some buyer resistance. Drivers continue to be stunned by the price tags on the new models rolling out of Detroit. Ford announced last week that its new subcompact Escort would cost at least $5,128. That is over $1,000 more than the Pinto it replaces and will be about $200 more than a 1981 Toyota Corolla. GM's hot-selling Chevrolet Citation four-door hatchback at $6,282 will cost 9.6% more this autumn; the price has risen almost 40% since it was introduced 1½ years ago. To make the price increases more palatable, GM announced that it is doubling the warranty to 24,000 miles or 24 months. The imports, though, continue to be tough competition. The Government last week announced the 1981 fuel economy ratings, and Japanese- or West German–built cars captured the first ten places. ■

Future car company President James McDonald (left) and prospective Chairman Roger Smith

Off the management assembly line, one comes from production and one from finance.

The Texas ace displays his latest venture

A New Air War

Pancho Lorenzo flies high

Francisco ("Pancho") Lorenzo, 40, has been chopping prices and carving up competition in the Southwest for the past eight years with his Texas International Airlines. Now Pancho is moving east. Lorenzo last week announced that his Houston-based firm, Texas Air Corp., is taxiing up a subsidiary called New York Air to compete with Eastern Air Lines on the rich air corridor connecting New York City and Washington, D.C. Starting Dec. 14, New York Air plans to offer $49 tickets on ten daily business-hour flights between the two cities. The weekend and evening fare will drop to $29, which is only 55¢ more than the cost on the Greyhound bus. Eastern now charges $60 for a shuttle ticket. Lorenzo intends later to extend service to Boston, and then to expand to twelve Northern cities as far west as Indianapolis.

Lorenzo has become the flying ace in the new era of unregulated airline routes and prices. After graduating from Harvard Business School in 1963 and working as a financial analyst for Trans World Airlines and Eastern, Lorenzo and Robert Carney teamed up to form their own airline management consulting firm. In 1971 they paid $1.1 million for controlling interest in Texas International, a small, regional carrier nicknamed "Texas Treetop" because of its poor service and antiquated planes. At the time it was losing $6 million a year on revenues of $70 million.

At Texas International, Lorenzo installed a new team of cost-conscious managers who began monitoring fuel consumption almost to the teaspoon, rearranged seating for maximum capacity and inaugurated "Peanuts Fare" discounts on selected routes. The price on flights from Albuquerque to Los Angeles, for example, was cut from $76 to $38. Half-empty planes were quickly filled, and revenues on the flight rose 75%. In the first six months of this year, Texas International earned $26.6 million on sales of $455 million.

Within the industry, Lorenzo has become famous for quixotic attacks on the giants. Two years ago, he began quietly buying up National Airlines stock. When Texas International had acquired 9.2% of the outstanding shares, he offered to buy the airline. National—almost three times bigger than Texas International—was horrified. Pan American World Airways eventually outbid Lorenzo with a $300 million offer, thereby allowing Texas International to sell its National shares for a $47 million pretax profit. Last year Lorenzo went after Trans World Airlines. Over breakfast at New York City's Carlyle Hotel, he told TWA Chairman L. Edwin Smart that he wanted to buy the troubled airline, which is ten times the size of the Texas upstart. The offer was quickly rebuffed.

New York Air is aiming to take business away from Eastern with a combination of cheaper flights and better on-board service. Instead of the round-'em-up-and-herd-'em-on shuttle treatment, New York Air will offer a free drink and food. Eastern will be fighting the competition with its guaranteed seat service, which means that any travelers showing up at the gate always get on board. Lorenzo himself took advantage of that convenience last week, when he flew the Eastern shuttle from New York to Washington because he could not wait for a reserved seat. "Good flight," he conceded.

Eastern and other major airlines are now fighting New York Air's attempts to win arrival and departure slots at Washington's busy National Airport. Some industry analysts suspect Eastern may also begin dropping its prices. The air war in the New York–Washington corridor is a battle made for the flying ace. ■

Atom Advocates

U.S. policy draws heavy fire

Representing 80 nations, some 5,000 delegates to the eleventh World Energy Conference jammed Munich's giant Olympia Hall last week to listen to calls for action on developing new energy sources. For background reading, the delegates could peruse no fewer than 164 technical papers on subjects ranging from high-voltage energy transmission to windmill turbine technology. On one subject, however, the participants spoke with a single voice: the U.S. is out of step with the rest of the world in the development of nuclear energy.

Delegates from France, Britain and other countries soundly criticized the Carter Administration for holding back progress on the use of nuclear power. Franz Josef Strauss, who is challenging West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in next month's national elections, was the bluntest. "Whoever fails to take advantage of nuclear energy condemns himself to social backwardness," he said. "The future belongs to those countries that push ahead with nuclear energy."

Since the Three Mile Island accident 18 months ago, U.S. nuclear power development has been virtually shut down. Orders for new facilities, which hit a high of 41 in 1973, have dropped to zero. By comparison, France, which has Europe's most ambitious nuclear program, has 16 reactors in operation, an extra 32 under construction and 13 more in planning. The Soviet Union currently generates 10% of its electricity from nuclear sources, and the present Five-Year Plan calls for construction of ten reactors a year. Pyotr Neporozhny, the Soviet Minister of Electric Power Development and Electrification, announced at the meeting that his country had recently made a major technical breakthrough toward nuclear fusion. If the Soviets could construct a successful nuclear fusion reactor, it would deliver about five to ten times the power of a now commonly used fission reactor.

Some of the loudest criticism of the U.S. came from representatives of developing countries. By the year 2020, they will be using as much energy as the developed world now consumes; but they have neither the money nor the resources to pay for expensive oil. Said Carlos Castro Madero, an official of the Argentine Atomic Energy Commission: "Every watt of energy the U.S. fails to produce by nuclear power must be produced by oil. Every barrel of oil burned by the U.S. is a barrel for which we must compete on the market, and this means higher prices."

U.S. nuclear plant

Conference participants glumly noted that such clean and renewable energy sources as wind, sun and tides will not play a significant role in energy for decades. Meanwhile, nuclear energy and coal remain the only practical answers to an increasingly energy-hungry world. Coal, though, presents enormous investment, transportation and environmental problems. Its real potential is still being questioned. As antinuclear partisans demonstrated outside the hall, Edward Hennelly, former president of the American Nuclear Society, concluded: "I am not unaware of the dangers of nuclear energy, but these concerns are far outweighed by the inevitable international showdowns over energy when the shortage really hits." ■

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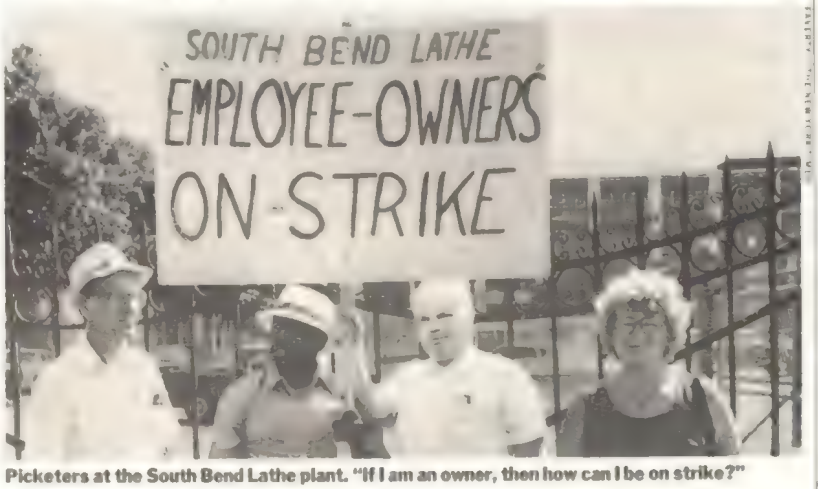
Trouble in Workers' Paradises

Some cases of employee capitalism turn into ESOP fables



Picketers at the South Bend Lathe plant. "If I am an owner, then how can I be on strike?"

South Bend Lathe Inc. in Indiana was until recently the very model of a modern worker-owned corporation. Five years ago, the 74-year-old machine-tool maker was saved from closing by its 500 employees, who bought shares in the firm through an ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan). Money for the stock purchases was provided by a loan funded by the Federal Government. With a team of new managers, the company prospered under its new worker-owners. Productivity increased, and sales nearly doubled, to $24 million. Now, however, a strike has closed the company, and about 300 employees are walking the picket line. Says bewildered Strike Leader Steve Kwiatkowski: "I'm still confused why I'm here. If I'm an owner, then how can I be on strike?"

The problems at South Bend Lathe are symptomatic of those that threaten to turn employee-owned companies into ESOP fables. Tension and distrust between workers and their managers developed over control of the company. Owing to a recent downturn in company profits, the value of the stock has declined 16%, and some workers are suing over pension benefits lost when the ESOP was introduced.

"Worker capitalism" sounded promising when Congress approved the ESOP program in 1974. Any company could transfer some or all of its stock to a trust, which then allocated the shares to workers. Employees would feel they had a stake in the firm's success and build up savings with their own stock.

Since 1975 about 3,000 firms, most of them small, have begun ESOP programs by turning over some stock to employees. Even giants like A T & T, Atlantic Richfield and Mobil have set up ESOPs. The plan, however, does not always work as intended. According to a Government Accounting Office study completed in June, some workers are being cheated because their firms have transferred stock to employees at inflated value. This means that when workers retire or quit, the stock may be worth much less than they expected. In other cases, voting control of the shares remains with the trust set up by the management, leaving workers with no say in running the company.

Worker-owners sometimes do not become good managers. At International Group Plans, a Washington, D.C., insurance company, the founder turned over half-ownership and control to the employees; they then fired the unsympathetic managers and voted themselves higher wages and long vacations. The firm was near collapse when the owner stepped back in and resumed running the firm.

Studies are inconclusive as to whether workers are more productive as shareholders rather than ordinary time-clock punchers. A University of Michigan project indicated that employee-owned companies can be 1.5 times as profitable as competing firms because there is less waste and absenteeism and greater productivity. But when worker ownership is spread out among hundreds of employees, and outside managers run the firm's operations, there is little benefit. Concludes James O'Toole, an associate professor of management at the University of Southern California: "Few companies have found a measurable effect on worker motivation, performance or productivity resulting directly from stock ownership. Little increase is visible in job satisfaction, morale or company loyalty."

Still, some employee-owned companies are resounding successes. Several cooperative-owned plywood companies in the Northwest were so profitable that they were bought out by larger firms. Puget Sound Plywood Inc. in Tacoma, Wash., flourished for years under a system in which the chairman was elected by the employees and received the same pay as hourly workers. Says Chairman Fred Brock: "The strength of an employee-owned company is that you try harder."

Maybe so. But effective worker-ownership programs will require stricter regulation of stock prices and a clearer understanding of who is running the store. Thus far ESOPs are clearly no panacea for workers or their bosses. ■

Back to the Hills for Gold

Eureka! There is still a bit of gold in them thar hills. In the past three weeks three companies have announced important new discoveries in northern California and Nevada. Homestake Mining Co., the nation's largest gold producer, tapped a vein that holds more than 1 million oz. of gold in California's wine-rich Napa County. Newmont Mining Corp. has uncovered gold deposits near Elko, Nev., that should yield about 440,000 oz. Louisiana Land and Exploration Co. made known last week that it had found ore containing both gold and silver near Round Mountain, Nev.

One part-time pick and pan man

With the price of gold still surging—one day last week it rose $30.70 in New York, to $680 per oz.—companies are finding it profitable to crush even mountains of rock to extract the shiny metal. Homestake has been spending $270 per oz. to dig gold from a Lead, S. Dak., mine that it opened in 1876. Six tons of ore must be mined in order to get one ounce of gold. Extraction in Napa County will cost between $140 and $190 per oz.

The gold rush is even attracting miners with pick and pan. Some 654 small mining claims were filed in California last month, and as many as 100,000 part-time prospectors now sift through the gravel beds of streams and rivers looking for nuggets that the Forty-Niners left behind. Big companies are having luck but individual miners say that pickings are slim.

No Progress Without Pain

M.I.T.'s Lester Thurow offers some hard economic choices

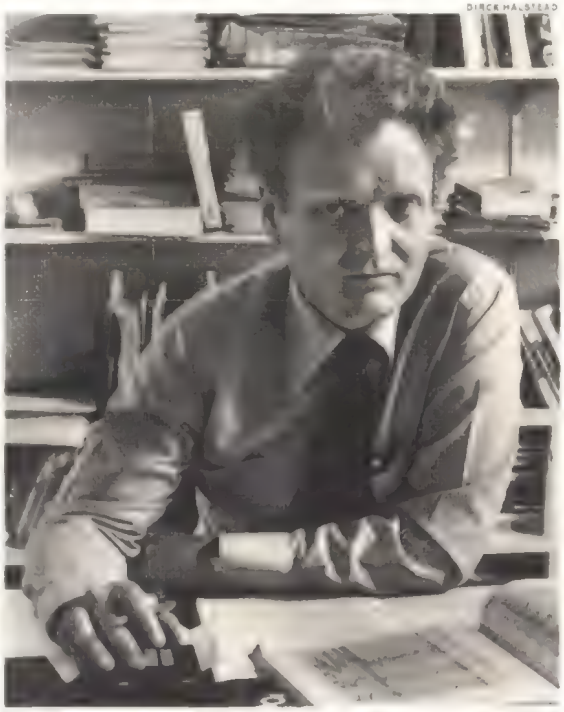
A major issue in this year's presidential campaign is the poor performance of the American economy. Carter, Reagan and Anderson have all offered vote-catching solutions for the problems of inflation, unemployment, energy shortages and declining productivity. Will the results match the rhetoric? "Not a chance," says M.I.T. Economist Lester C. Thurow. "Everybody is looking for a magic button, and there isn't one."

In one of the most provocative economic books of the year, *The Zero-Sum Society* (Basic Books; $12.95), Thurow, 42, analyzes the present U.S. economic paralysis. Instead of magic buttons, he offers stringent challenges: lower levels of personal consumption, some higher taxes and less Government aid to failing companies. Thurow's solutions for the nation's ills are based on a concept borrowed from games' theory called the zero-sum game: if someone wins, someone else will have to lose. Poker, for example, is a zero-sum game. If builders beat inflation by using low-cost foreign steel, some American steelworkers will lose their jobs. Higher oil prices will encourage Exxon to explore for new domestic energy sources, but motorists will have to pay more for gasoline. In short, America's economic problems can be solved, but not without hurting some group in society.

An organization of Texas businessmen a few weeks ago invited Thurow to speak to them, but first asked whether he was a liberal or a conservative. The answer: A little of both. An adviser to Democratic Senator George McGovern during the 1972 presidential campaign, Thurow believes in such traditional liberal remedies as stiff inheritance taxes and large public works programs. At the same time, he favors less government regulation. Said Thurow last week: "It's not a simple world. The economy needs less government in some areas and more in others."

In Thurow's analysis, the Government is largely responsible for the economic malaise because it cannot or will not resist growing demands by Americans for a risk-free society. Workers want guaranteed jobs with high salaries, and bosses want certain profits. Argues Thurow: "We have tried to combine economic progress with economic security. Everyone wants both, but everyone cannot have both." The result has been an undynamic economy with sluggish growth and chronically high inflation.

Thurow deplores the Federal Government's efforts to bail out ailing firms like Chrysler. Rather than prop up inefficient companies, Thurow believes, Government funds should flow into fields where the U.S. has a competitive advantage over such countries as Japan and West Germany. Examples: computer chips and agriculture. At the same time, Congress should give generous assistance in retraining and relocating displaced workers in older industries like steel. Says he: "We must strengthen the economic safety net for individuals, but pull it out from under companies."



DIRCK HALSTEAD

The professor whose political views are hard to pin down

Everybody is looking for a magic button, and there isn't one.

Thurow also places blame on the shortsighted views of many American businessmen. With shareholders peering over their shoulders, company chiefs too often focus on this quarter's profits, while neglecting long-term investment and planning. By contrast, Japanese managers look ten to 15 years ahead and are willing to sacrifice current earnings for long-run payoffs. As an example, Thurow notes that Nissan Motor Co., the maker of Datsun, lost money in the U.S. for years while it was cultivating the American market. But the company stayed the course, and has become phenomenally successful: its car and truck sales in this country have soared from 1,640 in 1960 to a projected 600,000 this year.

The M.I.T. economist has a controversial plan for rebuilding American business: setting up a national investment committee to pick and support the economy's winners. The group might authorize Government loan guarantees to farm-equipment and chemical companies for research into ways of growing more export crops. Small telecommunications firms could receive the funds needed to compete in the vast world market for information transmission devices from picture phones to satellites. Thurow argues that without such Government aid as price guarantees, some vital industries—synthetic fuel production, for example—would never emerge.

Members of Thurow's proposed investment committee would be recently retired leaders of industry, labor and politics. Those still active, he says, are more concerned with preserving the economic status quo than with opening new fields. Thurow last week dismissed President Carter's proposed Economic Revitalization Board, which will be headed by Du Pont Chairman Irving Shapiro and AFL-CIO Chief Lane Kirkland, as "a prop-up-the-losers approach."

Thurow would encourage research and investment in new technologies by ending the corporate income tax. To offset the Treasury's revenue loss, stockholders would pay a tax on their share of the company's retained earnings as well as on their dividends. Thurow urges that most antitrust laws be wiped off the books. He cites the eleven-year-old Government battle to dismantle IBM as a monumental waste of legal talent and money. Contends Thurow: "The breakup of IBM would benefit no one except the Japanese computer makers." He also favors the growth of giant conglomerates, which he says would readily shift workers and capital from low- to high-productivity jobs within the same company.

Many economists admire Thurow's analysis of the dilemma, but challenge his solutions. Their chief complaint: he would concentrate even more power in Washington. Says Economist George Gilder of the International Center for Economic Policy Studies: "It is difficult to see how Big Government can break the impasse if Big Government is the impasse." Thurow, however, says that his purpose is not so much to provide answers as to show that tough decisions are inevitable. Says he: "The theme for the 1980s will be: all stress, much strain." Only forceful political leadership can ensure that this stress and strain will result in a renewal of American economic vigor. —*By Charles Alexander*

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Male Dominance Revisited

Old evolutionary struggles still shape us, says a new book

Freud thought human culture was born in murder and cannibalism. As he told it in *Totem and Taboo* (1913), early man roamed the earth in a primal horde dominated by a tyrannical older male who kept the females for himself. One day, the younger males came together and killed and ate the father figure. Or perhaps they merely produced a group fantasy of patricide. Either way, the guilt and identification with the victim-father was the beginning of religion, politics and moral restrictions

Most academics today dismiss that grand theory with a shrug. Even orthodox Freudians seem embarrassed about it. But now an intrepid British anthropologist, who is known as a single-minded Darwinian, insists that Freud was on the right track. After treating Freud's myth of the primal horde with "fairly rough scientific cross-examination," Rutgers Anthropologist Robin Fox, 46, concludes in a new book that "something like it must actually have taken place."

Fox is the author of five previous books, including *Kinship and Marriage* and *The Imperial Animal*, which was written with his friend and fellow anthropologist Lionel Tiger. For almost 20 years, he has chided his profession for failing to make sufficient use of evolutionary theory. His main argument: the human brain is the result of millions of years of evolution, and so is its readiness to act in certain ways and not others. Says he: "We have evolved our mental processes as we have evolved our bodily processes —through natural selection."

Fox calls his new book a "heady flight" through primatology, brain research, psychoanalysis and anthropological studies of kinship systems. Titled *The Red Lamp of Incest* (Dutton; $12.95), it begins with the problem of incest in social theory. As Fox sees it, there is no universal horror of incest—or much interest worldwide in committing incest—but there is a near universal taboo. Why? His answer: man did not invent the taboo; he carries it in his brain as the residue of haunting battles much like the one described by Freud. Says Fox: "I like to think that I've updated Freud—written what he would have written if he'd had the benefit of modern research."

Fox's revision sweepingly affirms Freud's notion: the struggle between older and younger males is at the heart of human culture. The same struggle, argues Fox, was primarily responsible for the rapid enlargement of the human brain, and for the programming of many "psychic realities" into the brain through natural selection

According to this view, older males drove out the younger males, who then had to search outside the group for females. This struggle for control of the society produced ambivalence in the young, who wanted to defy the old as well as identify with them. "The struggle produced a brain that could control it," says Fox, "or the species would have destroyed itself. The struggle—once out and out—was transmuted into a game with rules, the

Anthropologist Fox lecturing at Rutgers
Was Freud on the right track after all?

basic rule of which was that a body of males 'renounced' a body of related females."

Under these rules, older males retained control of the group's females. The young males who foolishly tried to prey on these females were killed by the elders or otherwise kept from breeding. Thus the successful male was the one who learned to control his rage and lust and bide his time until the elders died off or allowed him to mate. The one who succeeded, says Fox, "was the smartest, the most cunning, the most foresighted—not necessarily the most sexy or aggressive, but the one that knew best how to time and use [his] sexuality and aggression."

To back up his theory, Fox cites the extensive research done on primates in recent decades. In all species Fox finds three primary groups: established males, females with young, and peripheral males who must try to work their way into the hierarchy. The expulsion of the young is highly organized among baboons. In some species, older males savagely attack the young males during breeding season, but do not drive them from the group.

Even today, says Fox, the same three blocs—older males, women with children and younger males—dominate human politics and compete relentlessly for success in breeding. As a result of this competition for millions of years, the human brain has become conditioned to a "permanent pattern" of behavior with some clear implications for modern-day love, marriage and family life. Among them

▸ The nuclear family, although sometimes regarded as traditional or "natural," is in fact an unstable invention. Says Fox: "Kinship systems are not about nuclear families and pair bonds, but about relationships between peoples who exchange spouses according to a set of rules." The nuclear family comes to the fore now and then, he says, as it does in some circumstances in the primate world, but the permanent pattern is for males to be promiscuous and polygynous. "Left to their own devices," Fox says, "societies will work out some form of multiple mating system. Monogamy has never worked."

▸ Male hostility to authority is not "unresolved Oedipal conflict," as psychoanalysts often suppose, but the normal hostility of outsider males to established males

▸ High pregnancy rates among teen-age girls should surprise no one. Prompted by their evolutionary legacy, says Fox, teenage girls always get pregnant if they can

▸ Sexual guilt is easy to arouse in males because the sexual impulse is tied to the problem of hostility toward older males and the need to control that hostility

▸ Feminism—the assertion of female interests against male interests—is merely a return to the normal strategic interaction among the three blocs. Accordingly, argues Fox, the aspiration among modern women to jobs in the marketplace is a foolish deviation from the norm. In evolutionary terms, he says, "the only solid anchor for female solidarity is in the protection of their rights as mothers against males, against the 'family' and against the state and religious apparatus that threatens the absolute sanctity of the mother-child bond."

Fox's message echoes the refrain of all evolutionary social theorists, and in particular the sociobiologists: mankind is not as free as it thinks it is. "If a group of young children were plunked on a remote island and left there," he says, "they would develop kinship patterns, an incest taboo, male initiation rites, totemism, ritual, exogamy, intergenerational male conflict, and an attempt by some males to dominate the mating system. The pattern can take a lot of stretching, but ultimately it must hold. Because it not only constrains us, it is us."

—*By John Leo*

People

Alf Landon feeding apples to his horse Red, near his home in Topeka

Colonel Sanders dwarfed by giant cake at his birthday party in Louisville

Taken together, the three birthday celebrators have more summers behind them than does the nation itself. Former Kansas Governor **Alf Landon,** 93, the eldest of the trio, was given a regular River City–style salute by the trombones of the Landon Middle School band in Topeka. The Governor still maintains a high degree of horse sense with daily rides on Red, his 27-year-old Morgan. "I'm in good shape," reports Landon, who carried the G.O.P. banner during the ill-fated campaign against F.D.R. in 1936, "though I can't get in and out of the saddle without help." Colonel **Harland Sanders,** 90, whose birthday fete took place at his old Kentucky home town of Louisville, prefers to do most of his traveling by air. Though he will not cover the 250,000 miles he managed last year, he still makes a bucketful of appearances touting his famous fried chicken for Heublein, Inc. The colonel's secret recipe: he just doesn't let birthdays ruffle his feathers. Besides, says Sanders, "90 is a good landmark to start from. I'm planning to reach 100 with no problem at all." Just the sort of Gray Panther gumption that Democratic Congressman **Claude Pepper,** 80, chairman of the Select Committee on the Aging, likes to hear from his elders. In fact, most times he can get downright salty over what he calls "agism"—discrimination against the elderly. At the birthday party in his Capitol office, the oldest member of the House of Representatives gazed around the room at the young staff members who had organized the affair. Said he: "I plan to be around for your 80th birthdays too, you know."

■

Alec Guinness may have abandoned his *Star Wars* light-sword for a more earthly riding crop, but the Force is still with him. In *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, a CBS-TV movie, he plays the Earl of Dorincourt, a crusty old gaffer gradually softened by his grandson's winsome ways. Guinness, 66, who found himself "with a moist eye now and then" while reading his part, was beguiled by his young co-star, **Ricky Schroder,** 10, who plays the Brooklyn tot turned aristocrat. (This is the third movie version of the Frances Hodgson Burnett classic: Mary Pickford played "Fauntleroy" in the 1921 film and Freddie Bartholomew in the 1936 remake.) Between takes at Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire, England, the lord and the knight discovered a mutual passion: fishing. Says Schroder of his new friend: "I like working with Alec. He's a nice guy and not at all stuffy."

Schroder and Guinness riding near Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire

■

In the title song of her new album *For the Working Girl*, sultry **Melissa Manchester** rails against male chauvinists like some roadies and back-up bandsmen. But since she tuned out her six-piece rock group for a full orchestra, touring has become a nonsexist family affair. Her father, David Manchester, 60, former bassoonist with the Metropolitan Opera orchestra, occasionally hits the road with her, and has been instrumental on Melissa's last two orchestrated pop-rock records. Sister Claudia Cagan, 34, sings back-up, and Mother Ruth creates some of her costumes. Manchester, 29, is even getting some help up front: Brother-in-Law Steve Cagan, 34, is her conductor.

—By E. Graydon Carter

Manchester with bassoonist dad

Nuclear Explosion in Chicago

ORDINARY PEOPLE. *Directed by Robert Redford. Screenplay by Alvin Sargent*

Sutherland and Moore share one of *Ordinary People's* few tender moments

They *are* ordinary people, if by that one means that they enjoy conventional middle-class prosperity and adhere to traditional family values. If the problem that the Jarrett family faces—an adolescent son trying to recover from a mental breakdown signaled by a suicide attempt—is perhaps an extreme one, it is hardly unknown in bourgeois America. Nor are the tensions that have been moving for a long time beneath the surface of the Jarretts' existence—an inability to express genuine affection or even speak frankly—exactly exotic.

But let the catalogue of what is ordinary about *Ordinary People* stop there. For the fact is that Robert Redford, directing his first film (based on Judith Guest's novel), has created an austere and delicate examination of the ways in which a likable family falters under pressure and struggles, with ambiguous results, to renew itself. This is not very show-bizzy stuff, but for once, a movie star has used his power to create not light entertainment or a trendy political statement, but a work that addresses itself quietly and intelligently to issues everyone who attempts to raise children must face.

Timothy Hutton as troubled teen

A nice boy with scary power

As this soberly paced film opens, a father and mother (Donald Sutherland and Mary Tyler Moore) are treading softly around their son Conrad (Timothy Hutton), full of false cheer and barely suppressed anxiety. He is excessively solicitous. She is too brisk. The boy is trying to take up the normal life that was broken off by the death of his brother in a boating accident for which he feels responsible, and by his subsequent stay in a mental hospital. School, the swimming team, girls—he would like to return to them all with a full heart. But he can only mime the old moves. His mind is clogged by guilts he cannot express to his family or, at first, to the psychiatrist (Judd Hirsch) to whom he reluctantly reports.

The film sounds like another earnest effort to popularize psychiatry. The power of *Ordinary People* does not lie in originality but in the way it observes behavior, its novelistic buildup of subtly characterizing details. One begins to see that the father's inarticulate patience represents a form of strength, that the mother's cheery orderliness is a mask for terror, that their son is fighting not just himself but an entire suburban society's reluctance to define, let alone accept, the responsibilities imposed by familial love. The deep desire to evade these responsibilities and the equally powerful imperative to fulfill them provide the movie's tension. They also supply the logic for a nuclear family's final explosion, which leaves one awash in powerful, and powerfully conflicting, emotions. No pat answers here.

Redford's use of previously unexplored locations around Chicago gives the picture a fresh, honest look. He has also asked much of his actors, and they have all responded superbly, but it is within the Jarrett family that the biggest chances are taken. The dramatically risky stillness in Donald Sutherland's performance remains constant as he moves agonizingly from being a passive player to an active force in reshaping his family's life. Mary Tyler Moore deserves some kind of award for her courage in exploring the coldness that can sometimes be found at the heart of those all-American girls she often plays. As for Timothy Hutton, son of the late Jim Hutton (*Walk, Don't Run*), he handles the sulks, rages and panics of adolescence with a naturalness any parent will recognize. He is a nice boy, but there is a scary power in the emotional volatility of his age, and he shows how that can tyrannize the lives of those around him. There are no villains in Redford's world, only fallible human beings trying to work things out, failing and succeeding in touchingly recognizable ways. That is a rare enough viewpoint to find at the movies now, but coming from a man whose fame might have carried him far from the realm of *Ordinary People*, it seems little short of miraculous. —*By Richard Schickel*

Director Redford on location

Austerity, delicacy and patience

Kuralt being filmed in a field of wheat: learning about those clusters of lights between cities

Press

Travels with Charlie

TV's wandering minstrel finally comes to anchor

"I guess I'll have to buy another suit." That was how CBS Correspondent Charles Kuralt greeted the news last week that several years on the back roads of America were finally coming to an end. In the network-news world of tailored suits and perfect teeth, Kuralt, 46, has long been an anomaly. Rumpled, round and slightly balding, Kuralt looks less like an anchorman than your average TV repairman. Earlier this year, when Dan Rather, 48, emerged from the jostling pack of contenders to win Walter Cronkite's job as father figure to the TV generation, Kuralt was not even in the running. Many viewers think he should have been. When he sat in for Cronkite a few weeks ago, Kuralt's warmth and humor set off an avalanche of mail to the CBS newsroom. "Mostly they told us we had picked the wrong man to succeed Walter," said one top CBS News producer.

That revelation does not cause Kuralt any regrets. For the past 13 years, while his colleagues dashed about pursuing headlines, Kuralt was happily crisscrossing the country in a camper, looking for stories about ordinary life for his *On the Road* series. "Reporters flying from one city to another on assignment never have time to learn anything about those little clusters of lights in between," says he.

From the road, Kuralt sent back video short stories describing life in those patches of light: an election in which nobody ran for office, a town full of champion duck callers, a 78-year-old man who had spent 20 years building a road singlehanded, a town on the edge of Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase. Each vignette, Kuralt hoped, would provide "a little piece of the jigsaw puzzle that this country is." In sharp contrast to the rest of the news, his stories celebrated qualities of playfulness, compassion, pride, and individual accomplishment. Says he: "I could never nap or read in the camper. I was forever looking out the window, afraid I would miss something."

Once *On the Road* was rolling, Kuralt resisted all offers to return to New York. He even turned down a chance to join top-rated *60 Minutes*. "My style of interviewing is exactly the opposite of Mike Wallace's," he says. "I can't fire questions at people. I just try to put people at ease and find out what's on their minds."

In 1979 CBS News President Bill Leonard finally talked him into coming back as host of the low-key new *Sunday Morning* magazine show, which wraps up news of the week. In principle, Leonard promised, Kuralt could still spend five days a week out on the road. But, says Kuralt, "after that, I had less and less time to look around for stories. I always had to be somewhere on Friday that had planes that went to New York."

Sunday Morning proved a critical success, largely because of Kuralt's comfortable writing style and delivery. As a result, CBS announced last week that he will soon be waking TV viewers on weekdays as well with the news show *Morning*. "Charles has a way of touching people," explains Leonard. Observes Dan Rather: "The sad thing, for him, is that the very things that make him so good made it difficult for him to come in off the road." Kuralt is gloomy about the relocation, but typically tireless: he will rise at 2:30 a.m. daily to write his show, though he will be able to do "damned little" reporting. Says he: "I guess I asked for it. In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is now in jail." Starting Oct. 27, visiting hours will be Monday through Friday, 7 a.m. to 8 a.m., E.S.T. ■

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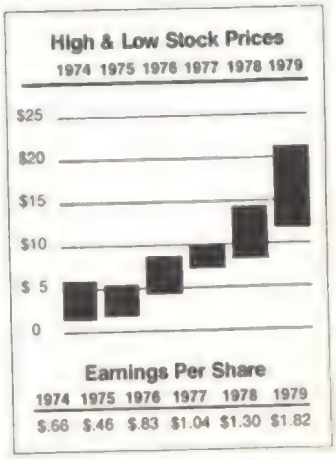

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The Nightmare and the Dream

LOON LAKE *by E.L. Doctorow; Random House; 258 pages; $11.95*

Author E.L. Doctorow's *Ragtime* (1975) was one of the cultural happenings of the past decade. The novel received largely rhapsodic reviews; its fictional use of such historical figures as Henry Ford and J.P. Morgan prompted reams of analysis. Commercial success accompanied the critical welcome. Paperback rights went for $1.9 million, a record at the time, a film deal was struck, and *Ragtime* became a bestseller. As the cash register continued to jingle, though, a number of literati began backing and filling from their earlier praise. If Doctorow is that good, so the argument ran, how come he is making so much money? The question is flawed, of course; the fact that many bad books sell well does not mean that all good ones are quickly remaindered. But having prospered a trifle too handsomely in the eyes of the purists, Doctorow created a skeptical, show-me audience for his next work of fiction.

That is too bad, because the author's new novel demands some patience and cooperation from readers before its effects begin to take hold and grip. Gone is the spare, metronomic prose that made the inventive plot of *Ragtime* so accessible and entertaining. The written surface of *Loon Lake* is ruffled and choppy. Swatches of poetry are jumbled together with passages of computerese and snippets of mysteriously disembodied conversation. Narration switches suddenly from first to third person, or vice versa, and it is not always clear just who is telling what. Chronology is so scrambled that the aftereffects of certain key events are described before the events occur. Such dislocations are undeniably frustrating at first, but they gradually acquire hypnotic force. Reading the book finally seems like overhearing bits of an oddly familiar tune.

E.L. Doctorow

Doctorow is indeed playing a variation on an old theme: the American dream, set to the music of an American nightmare, the Depression. Much of the book's plot is generated by a single gathering of characters in 1936. A group of gangsters and their girlfriends travel to Loon Lake, the 30,000-acre Adirondack retreat of their host, Millionaire F.W. Bennett. The Mob runs an industrial service, which actually means spying, strikebreaking and union busting, and Bennett has been having more than a spot of trouble with the workers at his Indiana auto-body plant. The two sides make a business agreement, and the head crook generously gives his moll Clara to Bennett to sweeten the bargain.

Also present at Loon Lake are Bennett's wife Lucinda, a world-famous aviator, and Warren Penfield, a drunken poet whom she keeps on as a pet and confidant. And an uninvited guest arrives: a young hobo named Joe, who wanders onto Bennett's property and is nearly killed by a pack of vicious dogs. As he recuperates, a young woman employee on the estate explains his accident: "Those are wild-running, those dogs. It's the fault of the people who own them and can't feed them any more. And then they go off and forage and breed wild and hunt in packs."

The novel is framed by this startling juxtaposition: starving dogs amid baronial splendor. When Joe decides to help Clara escape from her involuntary servitude, he steals a 1933 Mercedes from Bennett and starts driving through a landscape of blighted hopes and lives. He fears pursuit by Bennett; he is also worried that Clara's gangster friend may want her back. The last place Bennett would look, Joe decides, is at his own auto plant. But does Joe really take a job there of his own free will, as he believes? Or have the enormous forces of wealth and crime conspired to crush him?

Joe's story calls up some eerie echoes. Imagine *The Great Gatsby* set a decade later, told by its ambitious hero while he was on the make. Joe survives and triumphs through a combination of luck, animal cunning and absolute recklessness. And his tutor, ironically, is the very man he robbed. Joe never forgets his first sight of F.W. Bennett: "All the intelligence I had of him, from his house and his lands and his train and his resident poets, had not prepared me for the impersonal force of him, the frightening freedom of him." The race, Joe decides, is to the feral.

Doctorow may try to do too much in *Loon Lake*. When the poet Penfield reminisces about his experiences in Japan, for instance, he seems to belong in a different novel. But the author's skill at historical reconstruction, so evident in *Ragtime*, remains impressive here; the novel's fragments and edgy, nervous rhythms call up an age of clashing anxiety. *Loon Lake* tantalizes long after it is ended. As Penfield writes about the bird that gives its name to the Bennett estate, "The cry of loons once heard is not forgotten." —*By Paul Gray*

Excerpt

"And then, below, a broad lake came into view, a lake glittering with the last light of the day. I stopped to look at it. Something was moving, making a straight line of agitation, like a tear, in the surface.

A moment later a bird was rising slowly from the water, a bird large enough to be seen from this distance but only against the silver phosphorescence of the water. When it rose as high as the land it was gone . . .

My vantage point was from the land side, a rise in an enormous rolling meadow beside a tennis court fenced in wood and mesh. I did not try to move closer to see in detail what was in the light of the lodge windows, all ablaze everywhere, as if great crowds were inside. I knew there were no crowds. The wind amplified in gusts the strains of a dance band. When the song was over, it began again. It was a Victrola record of a tune I recognized, *Exactly Like You*.

The perverse effect of this music and the lighted windows was of a repellent and desolate isolation."

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Books

Memento Mori

NO MAN'S LAND
by John Toland
Doubleday; 651 pages; $17.95

These days, American veterans who want to relive the horrid past make pilgrimages to Bataan or plan fraternal parties in Hürtgen Forest. But when it comes to war stories and patriotic gore, World War II trails well behind memories of another war, as John Toland amply proves in this plodding yet passionately detailed resurrection of 1918.

In the spring of that year, General Erich Ludendorff launched the greatest military assault in history (62 divisions, more than 600,000 men, a 6,000-gun artillery barrage), and after years of stalemate blew a wedge, at places 100 miles wide and 40 miles deep, in Allied lines. By early summer, Germany seemed within a hot breath of taking Paris, driving the British army into the sea and winning the war. Then the Americans, as Toland puts it, finally got a chance to "show the world that [they] could fight as well as talk," and the counterattacks began. The overextended German army collapsed. In November the Kaiser resigned, and a scrappy little corporal, twice decorated for gallantry, flung himself on his hospital cot and wept. On the spot, Adolf Hitler swore he would devote his life to avenging his betrayed country.

If none of this is news, it has rarely been so methodically worked over. Toland's main intent is to evoke the sweep of battle from the Chemin des Dames to the Marne, from Belleau Wood to the Argonne. He sometimes wrings from familiar historic horrors memorable touches of contrary humanity. What was it like to listen to 8,500 guns, a sound that no human ear had ever heard before? For Winston Churchill, who visited France to see the war firsthand, the crescendo rose "exactly as a pianist runs his hands across the keyboard from treble to bass." For Private Frank Gray the thunder was "one roll, one roar, which never diminished and never increased, and which, indeed, imagination refused to conceive could be increased." After listening to a similar barrage, a U.S. Marine exulted: "I never want to have a grander feeling or I'd just naturally die of joy."

How do you cope with fear? No less bellicose a personage than Lieut. Colonel George S. Patton Jr., 32, found himself trembling before a battle. Then he thought of all his martial ancestors looking down upon him. "I became calm at once," he recalls, "and saying aloud 'It is time for another Patton to die,' " he strode forward into a hail of fire. Brigadier John Seely turned his mind to boyhood sayings —"Death is better than dishonor" and "By Faith ye shall move mountains"—before leading a do-or-die attack. Once engaged in combat, men were often too ab-

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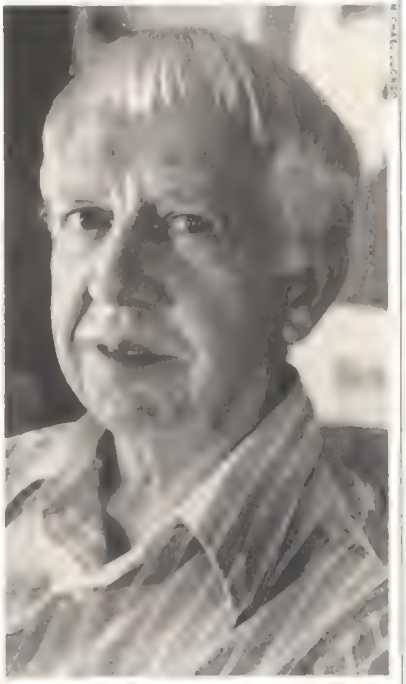
Books

sorbed to be frightened. When hit by shell splinters or .30-cal. slugs, some thought they had only been whacked by a stick or smashed a knee against a rock.

It is the conventional view that modern wars decide nothing, and that, in any case, individuals have no effect on their outcome. Toland cannot manage the magic of historic imagination that will make a reader really believe, as many Frenchmen and Englishmen believed in 1918, that the Germans were about to win the war. But it is hard to read his book without concluding that the course of these sprawling, murderous battles was often changed by individuals or small groups of men, whose sense of honor, courage, comradeship or



John Toland

Too absorbed in battle to be frightened.

simple professional efficiency drove them to extreme effort. Toland's most touching example: a Canadian cavalry officer named Gordon Muriel Flowerdew, who was exhorted to lead a squadron of Lord Strathcona's Horse straight at entrenched machine gunners on a ridge. Flowerdew, Toland writes, "a mild-looking young man, smiled gently as they started forward. 'I know, sir. I know it is a splendid moment. I will try not to fail you.' " As the doomed cavalrymen rode past, an appalled cockney rifleman yelled, "Strathcona's Orse! You'll be bloody bully beef if yer don't get art the way!" Flowerdew and half his men were killed. But they took the ridge and saved Amiens—at least for a while.

Wicked waste? Of course, since we now see the war as cruel and unnecessary. But it made some difference to the people of Amiens. —*By Timothy Foote*

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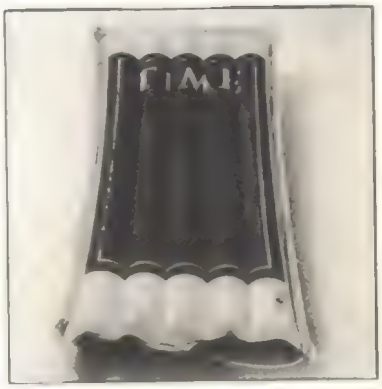

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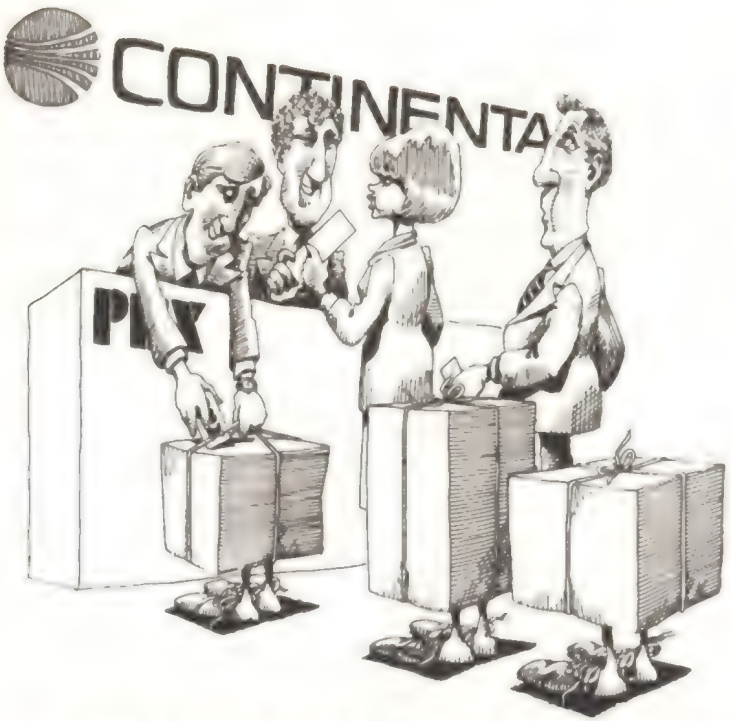

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Books

Body of Christ

REAL PRESENCE
by Richard Bausch
Dial; 279 pages; $9.95

Something is wrong with the crucifix. Hanging in the tiny church in a Virginia country town, it distresses the new pastor. The wooden corpus, Monsignor Vincent Shepherd observes, has "square, unsuffering eyes" that symbolize to the priest so much that is wrong with his church and his world. The sense of crucifixion is gone. Instead, he reflects, "it was as if Christ had never really suffered and died, but had only had the Last Supper, with twelve smiling men of social commitment and three folk guitarists, and then knocked the stone away from the tomb."

But something is wrong with the priest too. Shepherd has suffered a heart attack, and he is preoccupied with his own mortality. He clings to time as if to fend off eternity, but does little with it. He sits for hours in front of the rectory television set, resentful of parishioners who disturb him with their problems, unmindful that their private griefs are real wounds.

Into this desiccated shell of a man blows an outlandish wind of salvation, a rickety truck full of outcasts who make the Joads seem like landed gentry. Duck Bexley is the woebegone father of a brood of five; his wife Elizabeth is pregnant with the sixth. Bexley earned his name from a father who thought that trouble fell off him as water off a duck; in truth it clings to him like fresh tar from a hot summer road. In Korea, he won a Bronze Star for annihilating 44 Chinese trapped in a ravine. Their ghosts haunt him. Now he is past 40, dying slowly of the degenerative disease lupus, unable to keep a job. Elizabeth abides, a back-country madonna.

This is Flannery O'Connor country, where souls are gnarled and agony seems the only common measure of humanity. Even the corpulent landlord, Mr. Wick, who first comes into focus as a Dickensian villain, on closer inspection becomes merely a grownup, terrified boy forever humiliated by a sadistic father.

The doctrine of the Real Presence, in Christian theology, is the belief that Jesus Christ is truly present, body and blood, in the bread and wine of the Eucharist the living symbol of God among men. For Bausch's troubled priest, it becomes a metaphor for the world beyond the sanctuary, where the Real Presence must be sought among the lowliest of people and the darkest of hearts.

Bausch suggests that the Monsignor's conversion may have to be a journey away from the priesthood to the fatherhood of the forlorn Bexley family. It is a measure of this fine first novel's catholicity—with a lower-case *c*—that the choice seems almost irrelevant. In or out of the collar, this Shepherd seems at last to have found his calling. —*By Mayo Mohs*

All That and Billy Graham Too

At Wheaton College, a rare blend of brainpower and piety

As school reopened last week, Dormitory Counselor Philip Lance had only one problem: "There's some guy at the end of the floor who I think is chewing tobacco." Lance will just talk with the misguided fellow this time, but if the chewing persists he could face expulsion. By modern campus standards, it is a quaint worry, but Illinois' Wheaton College is unabashed in preserving a Garden of Eden moralism that has long since vanished from most campuses. Wheaton ground rules: no cheating, no racial prejudice, no tobacco, no alcohol, no drugs, no gambling—and no social dancing either. Students must sign a "pledge" card on the rules. Bible classes are mandatory, as is weekday worship, with assigned seats so monitors can check attendance.

Wheaton might seem to be just one step up from a stereotypical Bible college, long on piety and short on brains. Not so. Even outside the Evangelical subculture, the college, which has 2,025 undergraduates, is recognized for its academic stature. Last year it enrolled 53 National Merit Scholars, a total that put Wheaton on a par with the best four-year colleges of comparable size and, it boasts, in the top tenth of all U.S. colleges and universities. The National Research Council reports that for the period from 1920 to 1976, Wheaton alumni ranked eleventh among all four-year colleges in earning Ph.D. degrees, edging out Williams.

Graduates include droves of key church leaders who exert considerable influence within the growing Evangelical movement. The most famous, the Rev. Billy Graham (who earned an A.B. in anthropology in 1943), was back on campus last week to dedicate the $13.5 million Billy Graham Center. The center includes an auditorium as well as a museum, classrooms and a research library. Wheaton also numbers more than a dozen college presidents among its alumni, and people in every other line of work —even David Young, '61, one of the White House plumbers along with Egil Krogh, and a bit player in Watergate.

Back in Young's day the student code forbade even movies and the theater. TV made that untenable. Students are now advised to use "discretion" in entertainment. These strictures stir little student resistance; most Wheaton students come from families with similar behavior patterns. Says Deb Diller, 18, a pretty freshman from Pandora, Ohio: "The only thing I'm not allowed to do here that I do at home is dance. If I want to dance, I can dance in the summertime."

Wheaton's rules are more troublesome in recruiting faculty. Beyond personal behavior, Wheaton teachers must sign a 1926 credo including the belief that the Bible is "verbally inspired by God and inerrant in the original writing." A clause insisting on Creationism and a literal Adam and Eve was added in the 1960s. Says Biology Chairman A.J. Smith: "We study Darwin's theory, but that doesn't mean we advocate it." President Hudson T. Armerding notes that the rules and pledges sometimes make it hard to hire sociology teachers.

President Armerding chats with students

Wheaton, though short of Ph.D.s in some departments, is strong on dedicated teaching. The college excels in math and science. Among the faculty stars is Physicist Howard H. Claassen, part of the three-man team that synthesized a new chemical compound, xenon tetrafluoride, from an inert element. Other points of pride: study tours abroad (one aimed at combatting hunger) and a collection on the work of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Dorothy L. Sayers and other Christian writers.

Though Wheaton draws from all Christian denominations—and gets no church subsidy—it does well enough in giving ($7.3 million last year) to pay higher salaries than the average church-related college. Long-range money problems loom, of course. And beyond them is the specter of the Supreme Court and the U.S. Government.

Armerding fears some future court battle over the school's forthright policy of religious discrimination, since Wheaton consistently excludes atheists, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists and, indeed, any non-Christian teachers or students. So far the college has escaped Washington's wrath because it gets no federal or state aid for either capital or operating costs. But its students receive $4 million a year in Government grants, loans and loan guarantees. Since two-thirds of Wheaton's revenues are from tuition and fees, "it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace" such student aid, says Admissions Director Stuart Michael. Worse, the Government might one day strip the college of tax-exempt status. If Wheaton were forced to change its admission policies, its defenders argue, it would no longer be Wheaton—whose motto since 1860 has been *Eius Christo et Regno:* For Christ and His Kingdom. —*By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Steven Holmes/Chicago*

JAY FRANKLIN—TIME

Students stream out of Edman Chapel after attending worship, mandatory four times a week

Also a signed pledge to obey rules against cheating, drugs and social dancing.

Religion

Prisoner of Love

A bishop is "kidnaped"

Emotionally exhausted, the thin, bearded prisoner gazes at the noisy crowd outside his room and says in a mild voice, "I am captive of my people's love, their violence and their beliefs." Captive he is, for the Orthodox folk around the town of Kisamos, on the western tip of his native island of Crete, have kidnaped Bishop Eirinaios. For more than two weeks they have held him hostage in an empty room, refusing to free him until the church restores him as their leader.

The reason for such adulation is clear. Soon after Eirinaios arrived in Kisamos in 1957 to take charge of the diocese, the undeveloped, poor region began to hum with church projects: an internationally regarded religious and scientific convention center, a school for deaf-mutes, a school to preserve traditional handicrafts, technical schools with new dormitories so students from remote villages could attend, an experimental farm to raise improved crops and livestock. In 1966, when a ferryboat to Athens sank in a bad storm, drowning more than 200 people, Eirinaios denounced the neglect of safety on the aging boats. He also rallied small shareholders to establish their own well-run ferry line. People's ferries have since been started on four other islands.

All these good works required lots of money. Eirinaios seemed to raise it as if by magic and did not spend it on himself. But Eirinaios was one of the few bishops who refused to collaborate with the military junta that took power in Greece in 1967. That stand apparently led to the bishop's downfall. The Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul, which has some church jurisdiction over Crete, asked the politically troublesome Eirinaios to step aside in 1971. He was sent to West Germany to minister to 350,000 Greeks who migrated north in search of jobs. Soon Eirinaios was riling German authorities by demanding Greek-language schooling for the workers' children.

Bishop Eirinaios during captivity

Seized at prayer and dragged away.

Back home many of his projects were dying of neglect. His parishioners kept praying for his return. Then in 1979 his former see at Kisamos fell vacant. The bishops of Crete, who, with approval of the Patriarchate, elect their fellow bishops, promised that they would reinstate Eirinaios. But last June they chose another man. Two hours later the people seized the episcopal residence in Kisamos and threatened to demolish the building if anyone but Eirinaios tried to take office.

As dissent spread, Eirinaios returned home for a vacation. In an incredible episode on Aug. 29, a weeping band of former parishioners interrupted him at prayer in a little chapel near Chania, kissed him, then literally hauled the protesting prelate into a car for the trip to Kisamos. Alerted by church bells, thousands swarmed to welcome him back. The Ecumenical Patriarchate supposed at first that Eirinaios himself had staged the kidnaping. Not so, insisted the captive bishop. He told TIME last week: "Only after I recovered from the initial shock and saw the sufferings of these people did my soul yield to them."

Antonis Schetakis, mayor of Kisamos, explains this exercise in church democracy by force: "At a time when, instead of trying to solve our social problems, the church is only worried about the blind support of old and uneducated women and how to exploit its vast property, Eirinaios is a hope and a symbol for the future." At week's end the Patriarchate and bishops of Crete worked out a plan to shuffle episcopal assignments so the see of Kisamos eventually can be opened for Eirinaios' return. But street mobs were demanding that he be restored immediately. ■

Milestones

SEPARATED. Jerry Lewis, 54, compulsive clown and cinematic one-man band; and **Patti Lewis,** 56, his wife of 36 years and mother of his six sons; in Los Angeles

RECONCILED. Terry Bradshaw, 31, quarterback of the N.F.L. champion Pittsburgh Steelers; and **JoJo Starbuck,** 29, professional ice skater and former star of the Ice Capades; one month after she filed for divorce in Pittsburgh. Their marriage had appeared to founder under the strain of two big-time sports careers; but, according to Bradshaw, the couple, both born-again Christians, have put God "first in our lives, then our marriage and then our careers."

DIED. Barbara Loden, 48, actress-director, one of the first women to write, direct and star in her own feature film; of cancer; in New York City. She had been married since 1967 to Elia Kazan, who directed her in her Tony Award–winning performance as the Marilyn Monroe figure in Arthur Miller's *After the Fall*. Her 1970 *Wanda*, a proto-feminist chronicle about a drab, desperate Appalachian housewife, won the International Critics Prize at that year's Venice Film Festival.

DIED. John Howard Griffin, 60, novelist who in 1959 used chemicals and ultraviolet light to change the pigment of his skin temporarily from white to black, then walked, bused and hitchhiked through the South and wrote about his experiences in *Black Like Me;* of complications arising from diabetes; in Fort Worth. His book, published in 1961, stirred consciences throughout the U.S., sold more than 1 million copies and was made into a movie.

DIED. Willard Frank Libby, 71, nuclear pioneer whose "atomic clock" for dating ancient objects won him the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1960; of a blood clot in the lung; in Los Angeles. A participant in the World War II Manhattan Project, Libby helped develop the gaseous-diffusion method of separating uranium isotopes. In the mid-'40s, he discovered that a radioactive isotope of carbon was a tiny but measurable part of all living matter and, decaying at a predictable rate, could be used to assign an age to dead organic archaeological and geological remains. An advocate of nuclear testing, he served on the Atomic Energy Commission from 1954 to 1959 and also headed the Eisenhower-era "Atoms for Peace" program.

DIED. W. Maxey Jarman, 76, former chairman and chief executive of Genesco, who by 1969 had expanded his father's shoe business into the world's largest apparel conglomerate; after a long illness; in Nashville

DIED. Harold Edgar Clurman, 78, ebullient, versatile catalyst of the American theater, who attained eminence as a director (*Member of the Wedding, The Waltz of the Toreadors*), producer, author, teacher and raconteur; of cancer; in New York City. After starting out as an actor, he founded the Group Theater in 1931 to serve as an alternative to Broadway's commercial offerings; for ten years it provided a forum for playwrights like Clifford Odets and William Saroyan, introduced to the American stage the Stanislavsky Method of acting, and nourished such actors as Lee Strasberg, John Garfield, Cheryl Crawford, Lee J. Cobb and Stella Adler (Clurman's first wife). As a drama critic since the late 1940s, mostly for the *Nation*, he drew on enormous theatrical erudition, a prodigious memory and an insatiable delight in the arts. "I disapprove of much," he once said, "but I enjoy almost everything."

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Letters

Polish Strikers

To the Editors:

Marxists have preached and "prayed" for more than a hundred years that the collapse of capitalist countries in general, and the near capitalist U.S. in particular, would come about by a revolt of the "exploited" working class. Now look at Poland [Sept. 1]. Whose workers in what type of country are revolting?

Bart Kosko
Los Angeles

Isn't it amazing that the butts of all those stupid Polish jokes could make the whole world hold its breath? Some would have said that the Poles possessed suicidal courage and had no hope of succeeding. But they have succeeded by proving to men and women everywhere that no force on earth or in hell can take away a man's will.

Mary Gallagher Reimold
Greenville, Pa.

Prolonged wage and price controls do not work, even in a socialist-controlled economy. If the relief valve on the pressure cooker is jammed shut by government policy, without regard for economic reality, any fleeting benefits are bought at the price of an eventual explosion.

M. Robert Paglee
Moorestown, N.J.

Editor, Edit Thyself

According to the article "The Decline of Editing" [Sept. 1], "The fight against the misuse of 'hopefully' (for 'I hope') is just about lost." In your review of the Peking opera [Aug. 25], the wife of Mao Tse-tung, Jiang Qing, is mentioned in this way: "Thankfully, Jiang herself has now fallen out of favor." Does this mean that Jiang is thankful that she fell out of favor, or does it mean that the fight against the misuse of "thankfully" is just about lost?

Edwin Newman
New York City

Putting aside my desire to mumble something about the pot calling the kettle black—TIME having scrambled more syntax than Professor Backwards—I appreciate the cry for better editing of books.

But I protest the gratuitous poke at Betty Prashker of Doubleday, an editor of taste, skill and compassion. Editors, the best editors, do more than undangle participles and unsplit infinitives.

Prashker is there when I need her, not there when I don't. She perceives the indescribable pain of researching and writing books, and, in my case, has been of immeasurable help in producing two bestsellers. I need her and love her.

Thomas Thompson
Los Angeles

A fine could be instituted for using faulty grammar and orthography. A law could be written along the lines of pornography legislation. Corrupting people's ability to communicate certainly is at least as harmful as corrupting their morals.

K. Eckhard Kuhn-Osius
New York City

Naturally I have no way of telling who comprised the "sampling of writers, editors and agents" that decided that my novel *Sophie's Choice* "needed more editing." But I do know that in the hands of Robert Loomis, my editor at Random House, the book received the most intelligent and capable scrutiny possible, and I would not want to change a word of it.

William Styron
Vineyard Haven, Mass.

Faith May Be a Remedy

Your article "Suicide Belt" [Sept. 1] reveals several theories for climbing adolescent suicide rates in affluent suburbs; yet not once is there an implication that a faith in God, together with the familial closeness such a faith can generate, may be a remedy for this senseless waste.

Richard C. Ingraham
Bemus Point, N.Y.

Who the Delegates Were

With regard to Hugh Sidey's comments [Sept. 1], the Democratic Convention had a disproportionate percentage of delegates with government jobs because it was truly representative. Private industry is only now opening up decent jobs for women, blacks and other minorities.

Patricia O'Brien
Royal Oak, Mich.

What proportion of Republican Convention delegates do not have to work for a living at all? I would love to see a comparison of the two parties as to the proportion of each delegate's income on which he or she pays income tax.

Norma J. Hart
New York City

SEPTEMBER 22, 1980 Vol. 116 No. 12 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

For the TIME correspondents who visited dozens of toxic dumps and waste sites across the country to get material for this week's cover, the story entailed some eerie hazards. "If you are reporting a riot and get hit with a bottle," says New York Bureau Chief Peter Stoler, a veteran of the science and environment beat, "you either come home well or you don't. But with hazardous waste, you become acutely aware of every sneeze, every rash. You wonder about being well 20 years from now." Chatting with fire fighters near a blazing Elizabeth, N.J., dump site at 3 a.m., Stoler glanced down to see his nylon sneakers "being eaten by chemicals in the soil. They were literally dissolving off my feet."

Most often, though, TIME reporters and photographers were better, though bulkily, equipped. They sweated inside disposable vinyl body suits and bootees and hard hats. Wearing a respirator was a new experience for Chicago-based Correspondent Madeleine Nash, who went to dump sites in six states. Says she: "Breathing through those things is hard labor. And even with one, sharp fumes cut through to create a slight burning in your throat." Mandatory rubber gloves made reporters' notes look more like toddlers' scrawls.

Awkwardly confined in the hot body suits and encumbered with heavy cameras, photographers found their job doubly difficult, especially when they were trying to compose a picture while wearing goggles. Says Photographer Bill Pierce, who surveyed toxic dumps in New Jersey, as well as farms and woodlands that hide chemical waste sites: "Hazardous waste does not always look ugly. Quite often these dumps are neat rows of beautifully colored drums shining against a gorgeous, air-pollution sunset. We found too that some of the most photogenic slime was harmless. We had to get precise shots of the right slime."

THOMAS NASH

Nash doffs respirator despite toxic chemicals

Neither Senior Writer Ed Magnuson, author of this cover, nor Reporter-Researcher Nancy Williamson, who checked it, is a stranger to environmental nightmares. Williamson's Long Island community is threatened with ground-water pollution from chemicals. And Magnuson wrote TIME's cover story on the near nuclear disaster at Three Mile Island 18 months ago.

John a. Meyer

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